

HIGHER EDUCATION IN NAZI GERMANY

OR

EDUCATION FOR WORLD-CONQUEST

by

PROFESSOR A. WOLF



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PREFACE

THE following account of Higher Education in Nazi Germany embodies the results of an investigation undertaken at the request of the Rockefeller Research Fund Committee of the London School of Economics and Political Science. Owing to the centralization of all powers and policies in present-day Germany, it is neither possible nor desirable to isolate completely Nazi educational policy from its other aims and activities. Consequently the contents of this monograph are really more comprehensive than the title may at first suggest.

Now that the winter of our discontent is nearly over, and our fancy turns to thoughts of reconstruction, including educational reconstruction, the following story of the way in which the universities and technical schools of Germany have aided and abetted the cultivation of barbarity from 1918 onwards should be of special interest, if only as a timely warning against the kind of thing that may happen again, unless proper preventive measures are taken promptly, and carried out with firmness.

An account of Higher Education in German-occupied countries will follow as soon as possible.

The author is deeply indebted to the writers and editors of the various works mentioned in the text or in the Notes. He is also very grateful to Chatham House,

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A. W.

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CHAPTER I

PREDISPOSING CONDITIONS

UNTIL the year 1933 German education had a creditable history. In the field of science, it is true, Germany had comparatively little to her credit before the middle of the nineteenth century, whereas Italy, France, Holland, and Great Britain had attained great distinction some two or three centuries earlier. Some of the German States, however, were the first to introduce compulsory universal education into Europe, and it was in Germany that part-time education was first made obligatory between the ages of 14 and 17 or 18.¹ In the course of the later decades of the nineteenth century German education was appraised by the outside world far beyond its real merits, and multitudes of foreign students went to German universities and technical colleges. Germans, including professors and other educationists, were good advertisers and commercial travellers—a fact which was largely responsible for making Germany the Mecca of education. During the first World War Lord Haldane's excessive generosity in describing Germany as his spiritual home cost him his political career.

Whatever the merits of the system or systems of education in pre-Nazi Germany may have been, there can be no doubt that since 1933 German education has suffered a degradation without parallel. Of the causes which have produced this lamentable result the chief ones are to be found in Hitler's attitude to education, the evil influence of certain types of students and teachers in

German universities and technical colleges, and certain traditional tendencies in the character of the German people.

HITLER'S ATTITUDE TO EDUCATION

Hitler has been described as 'a peasant's son with little more than a peasant's education'. He was no good at school, and has never acquired a taste for reading. 'Even in his agitating days he would never read a book. His personal room at the Brown House (in Munich) has no books, and none of the pictures taken at his chalet (in Berchtesgaden) show any.'² Most of Hitler's principal lieutenants have been described as 'ignoramuses' by an ex-Nazi who knew them.³ Some of them, however, had been better educated than their leader, and spoke contemptuously about him in private. Goering referred to Hitler as 'that brat of a proletarian'; another colleague called him 'a pimp out of a brothel'.⁴ Hitler felt that some of the Party leaders despised him in their heart, and he resented it. 'They underestimate me', he protested, 'because I have risen from below, "the lower depths"; because I haven't had an education, because I haven't the "manners" that their sparrow brains think right.'⁵ His reaction to his inferiority complex in the matter of education was such as might have been expected of a man of his type. If it had been a matter of money or property, he would have surmounted the difficulty in the usual Nazi-Fascist way: he would have taken them by force. But education cannot be acquired by such simple expedients. It can be acquired only by the exercise of one's own intellectual powers. And Hitler either had no intellectual gifts or was unwilling to exercise them. So the only alternative possible to him,

without hurt to his megalomania, was to profess utter contempt for education, in the usual sense of the term. Intellectual powers are clearly not among the gifts with which Nature has endowed him. Such reports as have reached us about his methods of dealing with others make it clear that his usual method is to yell and thump ; he does not condescend to reason with them. His lieutenants naturally imitate him. Thyssen, one of the industrial magnates who helped Hitler into power, has complained that 'they shout at you and won't listen to a word you say. So what chance is there of a reasonable discussion ?' ⁶

Apart from his own lack of education, and consequent lack of appreciation of it, Hitler is afraid of allowing others to become sufficiently educated to think for themselves. 'Such men are dangerous' to dictators. What Hitler has been aiming at is omnipotence for himself, subordination for everybody else. All his talk about his grand ambitions for Germany and for the Nazi Party is just so much camouflage for his real ego-centric ambitions. For, according to his own version of the Athanasian Creed, 'the German State, the Nazi Party, and Adolf Hitler are One Substance'.⁷ In order to maintain himself in power Hitler needs subordinates, many millions of subordinates, who will not think for themselves, but will obey his orders without hesitation and without compunction. That is why he has degraded German education to mere drill and discipline for the production of Nazi robots. 'I need men', said Hitler, 'who will not stop to think if they are ordered to knock someone down.' ⁸

THE EVIL INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN GROUPS OF
GERMAN STUDENTS

For some considerable time before the first World War Germany had more students at the universities and technical colleges than any other country in Europe. A university career was regarded as the normal avenue to the civil service as well as to the professions of law, medicine, etc. Some of the students, of course, were genuine students, with a taste and capacity for study ; but there were others, many others, who had either no interest in study or no aptitude for it. These came mostly from the sufficiently well-to-do classes with allowances which enabled them to have a 'good time' and form useful contacts. There were plenty of students' societies, and a great variety of them, to cater for their various tastes. Opportunities for drinking, sentimental sing-songs, gymnastics, fencing, and duelling were provided in plenty, to say nothing of more disreputable pastimes. They flaunted gaily-coloured caps and ribbons with as much zest as any primitives. The student who could drink hard, and collect a few duelling scars on his face could rely on obtaining some kind of Government post, especially if he was backed by some of the 'old boys' of his corps or association. Above all, however, many students of this type liked playing at politics. There was a traditional legend in some of the students' societies that they had helped to bring about the unification of Germany under Bismarck. The great Chancellor, it is true, dismissed them contemptuously as 'a combination of Utopianism and ignorance' ;⁹ but the belief and the conceit persisted, and the members of many of

the students' corps and associations were ready to participate in any adventure planned by the Pan-Germans, or Nationalists, or any other reactionaries in order to avenge the defeat of Germany in 1918.

Again, even in normal times the number of German students was considerably larger than the country could make use of in the civil service or in the learned professions. The surplus constituted an unemployed academic proletariat, not trained for manual work or commerce, and not good enough to compete successfully in the professional world. They formed a pool of men with grievances, all too ready to blame the Jews or the Government for their own failure, and prone to join in any attempt to loot other people's jobs or professions.¹⁰

The most dangerous of all the students were the ex-army officers who flocked to the universities when the German army was severely reduced by the Peace Treaty. Normally, German officers are a caste apart. They come from the land-owning classes, and are trained in the military academies, not at the universities. They look contemptuously upon civilians and civil occupations, and have no aptitude for other than military pursuits. When many thousands of them were formally demobilized after the first World War they were utterly at a loss what to do. A few of them could get employment in South America and elsewhere to help in the training of armies; and a few tried their hand as commercial travellers in champagne or other commodities, or as hawkers of cocaine and other forbidden drugs. But the vast majority of them were helpless. The result was the formation of illegal or 'black' armies or brigades, which openly carried on war in Upper Silesia against the Poles, or hired themselves out to the big landlords and industrialists

for the purpose of breaking strikes and keeping down wages by shooting some of the strikers and beating up the rest.

These illicit, private armies, however, could not absorb all the available officers, military and naval. So a good many of them joined one or other of the numerous political reactionary parties, and a considerable number entered the universities, not in order to study, but to carry on reactionary propaganda among the students and teachers. In 1920 the number of students at German universities was 25 per 10,000 of the population of Germany, whereas in 1914 the proportion was only 11 per 10,000 inhabitants. (In England and Wales, the corresponding figures were 7 in 1914, and 10 in 1920.)¹¹ This enormous increase in the number of German students was mainly or largely due to the influx of officers into the universities. Their mischievous activities found plenty of inflammable material ready to hand in the numerous reactionary students belonging to various corps and other societies, and also in some of the reactionary teachers. A great many 'students' possessed firearms, and carried out regular military exercises, with the connivance, or even the blessing, of the academic authorities. When political murders were planned (usually in Bavaria) there were plenty of students at the universities, or even in the upper forms of the secondary schools, to carry out the executions in any part of Germany.

Here are just a few facts to illustrate the nature of the activities of many of the 'students' at the German universities. The Brigade Ehrhardt (one of the 'black' or illicit armies which carried on war in Upper Silesia) had a detachment housed in the building of the Saxonia Students' Club in Leipzig. When the Kapp putsch was

being planned in 1920, for the overthrow of the Republican Government, Captain Berchtold, the principal conspirator, made inquiries about likely supporters. Captain Meyer informed him that the members of the students' corps and other student associations in the University of Würzburg would march with them, that they possessed firearms and other military equipment, that they were faultlessly organized on a strictly military basis, and carried out military exercises twice each week. Lieut. Hager reported from Erlangen that the students' corps at that university consisted mostly of ex-officers, and would take part in the *coup d'état*. Lieut. Mayerl supplied fuller details about the various students' societies (including the Academic Choral Society !) at Würzburg, that would take part in the adventure, and insisted that they should be allowed their own military organization, as they were the main supporters of the movement. In Jena the students regularly practised shooting, had their own rifles, and carried out military exercises. Many students belonged to the irregular army, in which they enlisted during the university vacations, although it was illegal to enlist for a period of less than two years. The students of the University of Marburg carried out a bloody campaign against the workmen in Thuringia, on the specious ground that it was a fight against communism. When Eisner was murdered by Count Arco, Captain Dietl, backed by the officers and the students, sent an ultimatum to the Government : ' Either Count Arco is pardoned or the Government will be hanged to-morrow.' Arco was acquitted.¹² When some Socialist students at Munich protested against his acquittal, they were beaten up brutally by the reactionary students ; and when, in January 1920, Professor Max

Weber spoke up on behalf of the Socialist students, he too was attacked by the barbarians ; and the Rector of the University held his peace.¹³ A Catholic scholar, Domdekan Kiefel, of Regensburg, described Arco as 'our young national hero whose unselfish idealism alone could put new life into our people'.¹⁴ The murder of Rathenau, as everybody knows, was planned and carried out by some young students. One of them, Karl Bauer, as a reward for his foul deed, was appointed secretary to Dr. Arnold Ruge, one of Hitler's lieutenants, but showed himself such a bad character that Ruge had him murdered. Participation in 'patriotic' assassinations came to be regarded as a ground for special consideration for appointment to vacant posts. The *Deutsche Zeitung* of March 12, 1931, for instance, contained two advertisements for posts by advertisers who were former 'Fehme murderers'. One of them was a 'theologian'.¹⁵ In 1932, when von Papen was Chancellor, five Nazis murdered a so-called communist in a particularly fiendish manner, and were condemned to death under martial law. Hitler wired to them : 'United to you in unbounded faithfulness—your release is a question of our honour.'¹⁶ They *were* released.

It is unnecessary to explore the unsavoury story of the hundreds of other political murders carried out in Germany even before Hitler became its Chancellor and super-executioner, though 'students' were involved in many of them.

THE EVIL INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN TEACHERS

Even in democratic countries academic people are mostly conservative, and some are reactionary. But

however conservative they may be, British university teachers are generally humanitarian and tolerant, and do not allow their political views or prejudices to betray them into hostility towards their colleagues or students. In the case of German university teachers things have been rather different. The great majority have usually been reactionary, and not on speaking terms either with their very few more liberal colleagues, or with reactionaries of a political complexion somewhat different from their own. Some of them have been so vulgar as to abuse a colleague in their lectures, and refer to his hunchback or some other physical deformity. Very few of them could resist the temptation to say something offensive about the Jews. Some teachers excluded Jews from their seminars, as well as all women. This spirit of reaction and intolerance may be explained in part by the fact that the teachers had belonged to some of the many reactionary students' associations during their student days. This explanation involves, no doubt, something like a vicious circle: reactionary and intolerant teachers tend to produce reactionary and intolerant students; and some of these students, in due course, become intolerant and reactionary teachers. That is so. A remarkable symptom of the spirit of intolerance in German educational institutions may be seen in the non-existence of debating societies, so common and familiar in British schools and colleges. Most German students are too intolerant to carry on a discussion with a sufficient measure of sweet reasonableness. I had an amazing experience of this in 1924, when I was staying in Germany. The rector of a technical college asked me to help some of his students, who could speak English but had no opportunity to practise it. I suggested a few debates,

which would give them all a chance to speak, and I would correct their English when necessary. When the time came, very few of the students would keep to the point, or address the chair. They went at each other hammer and tongs, and seemed to regard a debate as an opportunity to give vent to all sorts of grievances, real or imaginary.

Deeper grounds for the mentality of so many German university teachers are probably to be found in their priggishness and opportunism. The universities in Germany have nearly always been Government institutions, supported by the State and controlled by it. The teachers naturally considered themselves as belonging to the higher civil service. In a country in which the officers and the civil servants are regarded as the *élite*, this position gives the teachers a feeling of pride, and imbues them with a sense of caution not to offend the ruling caste. Hence priggishness and opportunism. During the Republican period, after the first World War, the priggishness would seem to have been more obvious than the opportunism. Some teachers, indeed, were blatant democrats during the Republican period and became equally blatant Nazis when the Third Reich made its appearance. And of course there were some genuine republicans, democrats, and socialists among the teachers, who suffered for their conviction when Hitler triumphed. But most of the university teachers were too priggish to be democratic, and felt, moreover, that the Republican Government would not last long. For the army and the civil service were anti-republican, and the inexperienced and incompetent republicans did not know how to deal with them. In fact, in their 'patriotic' anxiety to cheat the Allied

Powers out of the reparations, etc., they sold themselves body and soul to the officer caste, and allowed the civil servants and the judges to snub them and thwart them in the most humiliating ways. Many of the university teachers saw what was coming, and tried to ingratiate themselves in advance with the powers to be (even if they did not know yet which of the many reactionary parties would triumph) by open or disguised hostility to the Republican Government. For example, one of the professors at the University of Göttingen lectured on Cleon and the Athenian democracy in terms which were obviously intended as a disparagement of Ebert, or Erzberger, and German democracy.

Many of the junior teachers waiting for more remunerative posts, and many of the senior teachers prejudiced against Jewish or Liberal colleagues, were easily persuaded by Hitler and his agents, when they made a drive for academic adherents. Arnold Ruge, who had already distinguished himself as the protector of one of Rathenau's assassins, and as the stage-manager of that assassin's assassination, had been Lecturer on Philosophy in the University of Heidelberg, where he succeeded in enrolling as a Nazi Professor P. Lenard. This Nobel prizeman had been a student of Hertz, the famous German Jewish physicist, whose works he edited. But he became an ardent anti-Semite, and distinguished himself rather early as a kind of guttersnipe critic of Einstein. Lenard and other friends of Ruge, with the aid of boisterous Nazi students, succeeded in hounding their colleague Professor E. J. Gumbel from Heidelberg. Gumbel had published several fully documented volumes in which he described the reign of terror in Bavaria, and other parts of Germany, carried on with the connivance of the law courts; and

he eloquently pleaded with the people and the authorities to put an end to it.¹⁷ His reward was dismissal from the university in 1932, and very nearly assassination by a group of Nazis—his escape was due to a lucky accident.¹⁸ Similar things happened in other German universities.

THE GERMAN MASSES

Having indicated how some of the officers, students, and teachers prepared the way for the degradation of German education under the Nazis, one may well ask whether there was not something in the character and attitude of the German masses, or of the German people as a whole, including the workers, shopkeepers, etc., that contributed to this deterioration. It is very difficult to characterize any people as a whole. Any large group contains good, bad, and indifferent individuals, and it is quite easy to make the mistake of either overrating or underrating them. In pre-Nazi days Germany produced a great range of characters varying from Lessing, one of the greatest humanists of all time, to a certain infamous monster in Hanover, Haarmann, who enticed young people in order to murder them and sell their flesh for human consumption. The average German is neither of the one type nor of the other, though, to judge from recent events, there are far more approximating to the latter type than to the former. Nobody has denied that there are many decent Germans, many democratic Germans; but there are not enough of them to exercise effectively a good influence upon their country. In the field of education the Republican Government, from 1918 onwards introduced many improvements in the

system of German education, and provided for the free education of the more gifted children from the lower middle classes, and from the working classes, in secondary schools and in the universities. But the Government lacked self-reliance, allowed rowdy students and others to insult the Republican flag, and to defy the Minister of Education with impunity. Instead of organizing the workers, and using them effectively in the service of democracy, they leaned for support on the officers of the regular army, who were only too anxious to exploit the opportunity of undermining and eventually destroying democracy. The weakness of the Government was due partly to inexperience in the art of government, partly to an excessive respect for officers, with whom they felt rather proud to associate, and partly to sympathy with the 'patriotic' policy of resisting and cheating the victorious allies as much as possible. 'It was the mental servitude of Germany's Democrats to her traditional militarism which emasculated German Democracy and destroyed the German Republic.'¹⁹ This servitude is rather common among Germans, and is largely the outcome of their military training and habits. Even the working classes used to speak about their life in the army with the same sort of enthusiasm as educated people speak of their years at their public school or their university. They were not anti-military. Far from it. Some of them could sympathize with the officers' ambition to refurbish the tarnished glory of the army by means of a war of revenge, especially if it promised to result in ample loot for everybody in Germany. Many people are under the impression that militarism is peculiarly Prussian rather than German. But that is a mistake. Pagan Prussia is bad enough, but Catholic

Bavaria is even worse, and was the storm centre during all the turbulent years of preparation for the second World War. Anyway, the traditional militarist attitude of the German people helped to prepare the way for the Nazi militarization of German education.

CHAPTER II

NAZI EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION

WHEN Bismarck, the man of 'blood and iron', created the German Empire in 1871 by means of the characteristic methods of force and fraud, Germany still consisted of twenty-five States, each of which was autonomous, except in matters relating to foreign policy. One result of this was that the German universities enjoyed a considerable measure of academic freedom. They were under Government control, it is true. But the universities belonged to different States, between which there was a healthy competition to secure the most eminent teachers for the several universities, and the teachers naturally preferred to go to those universities which offered them the greatest academic freedom. The twenty-five States had twenty-three universities between them, only two of which came into existence subsequent to the foundation of the Empire.

The following table enumerates the several universities, and gives the year in which each of them was founded :

Berlin	1809	Göttingen	1737
Bonn	1780	Greifswald	1436
Breslau	1702	Halle	1694
Erlangen	1743	Hamburg	1919
Frankfurt a/M.	1914	Heidelberg	1386
Freiburg	1457	Jena	1557
Giessen	1607	Kiel	1665

Köln . . .	1388	Münster . . .	1780
Königsberg . . .	1544	Rostock . . .	1419
Leipzig . . .	1409	Tübingen . . .	1477
Marburg . . .	1527	Würzburg . . .	1582
München . . .	1472		

There are also technical colleges at Aachen, Berlin, Braunschweig, Breslau, Danzig, Darmstadt, Dresden, Hanover, Karlsruhe, München, and Stuttgart; a medical institute at Düsseldorf; and various schools of commerce, mining, forestry, art, and music. So long as the universities and colleges retained their autonomy, the method of their administration, generally speaking, was as follows: In each university the teachers were grouped into faculties, according to the nature of their subjects. Usually there were four faculties, namely, theology, philosophy (including arts and pure science), law, and medicine. Each faculty selected its own dean, who acted as its chairman and spokesman. For some purposes the meetings of a faculty were attended by all the teachers in it; more usually its business was done by a select board, consisting of all the ordinary (or salaried) and some of the extraordinary professors. Practically all academic questions were entrusted to the faculties. They had the power to confer degrees, to grant tutorial rights to non-professorial teachers, to recommend teachers for promotion, and to nominate professors for vacant chairs. In the last case they sent the names of three suitable candidates to the Minister of Education, who usually appointed one of them. The general administration of each university was vested in the senate, which consisted of all the ordinary professors, including the deans, and sometimes other faculty members. The senate elected a rector, whose functions

were similar to those of a vice-chancellor at a British university. He was elected from among the professors for a term of one year, but could be re-elected. The students at each university also enjoyed some measure of self-government in many matters affecting student welfare, more especially as regards financial aid, or help in finding employment for those who needed either. It may be added that professors had the right to examine their own students, when these entered for their degree examinations. So far as bare forms are concerned the Nazis retained a number of features of this administrative structure. But they destroyed the substance of all the academic freedom and autonomy which the universities had in pre-Nazi days. Their reasons for doing so were purely political. They refused to regard universities and similar institutions as centres of learning and the search for truth.

Although Bismarck's system of more or less autonomous German States in a Federal Empire had many good features, it also contained elements of grave danger. For instance, one of the States might defy or thwart the Federal Government, and endanger the well-being of the whole of Germany. That is just what Bavaria did during the years 1919-33, when Munich was a hotbed of political intrigue and revolution. But for this, Hitler would probably never have risen to power. Now this condition of affairs had suited Hitler perfectly while he was still struggling for power, and training his fellow-gangsters in methods of blood and iron, force and fraud. But when he became Chancellor, in 1933, he did not want anybody to have the opportunity of preparing a counter-revolution against him. So the first thing he did was to scrap the whole federal system, to

centralize all government by making Germany a unitary State, so as to get all political power into his own hands and keep it there. As part and parcel of this policy he also centralized the entire system of education, and scrapped every shred of academic freedom. Education, as he conceived it, was to be the most potent means of giving him a stranglehold first over every German from his birth to his grave, and then over others whom he proposed to overpower with the aid of his millions of robots. 'Our State', said Dr. Ley, the chief of the Labour Front, 'is an educational State. . . . It does not let a man go free from the cradle to the grave. We begin with the child when he is three years old. As soon as he begins to think he is made to carry a little flag. Then follows school, the Hitler Youth, the Storm Troopers, and military training. We don't let him go; and when all that is done, comes the Labour Front, which takes possession of him again, and does not let him go till he dies, even if he does not like it.' ²⁰

Already in 1933 university administration was re-organized as follows: Hitler appoints the Minister of Education, who is responsible to him. The minister appoints for each university a principal, or rector, or leader, who is responsible only to the minister. The minister, after consulting the rector, also appoints a teachers' leader, who is responsible to the rector. A vice-rector and deans of faculties are similarly appointed by the minister on the rector's recommendation. The deans and two additional representatives of the Nazi Teachers' League constitute the senate, which can only offer advice to the rector. The faculty boards consist of the deans, all full-time professors, and two part-time professors (for each board) selected by the teachers'

leader. The faculty boards can only offer advice to the deans, who are responsible to the rector. The students are also organized on the leadership principle. All the students of 'Aryan' or German descent constitute the 'Student-body'. There is also a 'Student League', a kind of inner nucleus composed of only about 12 per cent of the entire Student-body. At each university there is a students' leader, who is appointed by the Minister of Education after consultation with the head of the Students' League. The students' leader is on the same level of authority as the teachers' leader, and is responsible only to the rector. Questions of student discipline are dealt with by a committee consisting of the rector, the teachers' leader, and the students' leader. The students have considerable power over the teachers, for the Students' League is not subordinate to the Minister of Education but to the Minister for Party Affairs, who is directly responsible only to Hitler. Every student and every teacher has to take an oath of fealty to Hitler. In this way the familiar pyramidal structure of dictatorship is maintained in the sphere of higher education, as in everything else. The various learned academies in Germany have also been consolidated into one Imperial Academy, in order to secure central control, and to exclude all non-Nazis. The numerous students' corps and other student societies of pre-Hitler days have been liquidated. Many of them had taken an active part in all the anti-democratic conspiracies, and had contributed much to the success of the Nazi revolution. But Hitler would afford them no opportunity ever to start subversive activities against him; and gratitude for favours rendered has never been one of his weaknesses—as Roehm and thousands of others have discovered to their cost.

Hitler's educational policy is just part of his general policy—to force as many people as possible to serve his insatiable lust for power. 'What Hitler wants', said Roehm, 'is to sit on the hilltop and pretend that he is God.'²¹ The odd thing is that self-deification has been encouraged by the German intelligentsia, who have helped him to reach the top of his political hill or pyramid. But perhaps it is not so odd when one recalls the fulsome adulation which they used to offer the ex-Kaiser, until that braggart was crushed by the weight of his unruly ambitions. Long ago Stendhal, the French novelist, remarked on German weakness for false idols. 'They seem to have inherited from their Middle Ages', he wrote in his *De l'Amour*, 'a strong leaning towards enthusiasm and credulity. Hence every decade or so they must have a New Great Man, who will outdo all the others.' Hitler is by no means the first, but he should be the last of the false Messiahs of the 'nation of poets and philosophers', of cranks and crooks.

To complete his hold over universities and colleges, Hitler has his spies in all of them to watch over teachers and students. Moreover, teachers and students spy on each other for expressions of non-Nazi views. Dr. Ley has uttered the boastful warning that 'nothing escapes the Nazi Party, the least stir, or fuss, or grumble, or agreement it registers, as does a seismograph'.²² 'Something of the prevailing atmosphere', reports an American investigator after his return from Germany, 'is conveyed by the following incident: Not long ago two professors were about to leave the teachers' room at the university, when they noticed that one of their colleagues had left his brief-case. Looking inside to determine the ownership they found a mass of notes

on their own and their colleagues' informal conversations, evidently destined for the authorities. The story spread quickly, and the offender soon found himself ostracized. When he asked the reason, and was told, he replied with some surprise, "Why, you don't suppose I'm the only one doing this, do you?"²³ In such an environment many people naturally grow reticent, and dare not express their real views. Already in May 1935 the Minister of Education took occasion to complain that teachers were not giving him their real views when he consulted them about the appointment of new teachers or the promotion of old ones. He suggested the use of outside pressure to make them say what they really thought.²⁴ It betrays gross psychological ignorance to expect the truth from teachers who have been deliberately degraded to the status of loudspeakers and spies in the service of Hitler.

If a German professor is invited to deliver lectures or to attend a congress in another country, he must inform either the rector of his university or the Minister of Education six weeks before the date of his proposed departure. He must submit copies of all the lectures or speeches which he intends to deliver, and receive permission from the local leader of the Nazi Teachers' League. If he is allowed to go, then he must keep contact with the German representative in the country which he visits; and when he returns he must submit a detailed report on relevant cultural and political conditions which he has observed there. Exchange teachers and students have been regularly used by the Nazis for the purposes of propaganda and espionage. Among those who were arrested when the United States took defence measures against enemy aliens in 1942 were

several German university professors. Two of them (Bergsträsser and Curtius) were arrested a second time after they had been set free. Special interest was aroused by the case of an exchange student, Bahr, whom the Nazis tried to smuggle into U.S.A. on a diplomatic exchange ship so that he might spy for them.²⁵

ENSLAVEMENT THROUGH 'EDUCATION'

In Barry's play, *Mary Rose* (Act II), there is a scene in which a young Scotsman tells some English tourists that his father had been studying at the University of Aberdeen, was just completing his course for a degree in classics, and would then return to work on his croft. 'In that case', says one of the visitors, 'I don't see what he is getting out of it.' To which the young crofter retorts: 'He is getting the grandest thing in the world out of it; he is getting education.' This expresses a view of education entertained by the best minds of the civilized world since the time of Aristotle. Education as the pursuit of knowledge, or the effort to understand the world, has an intrinsic value of its own, quite apart from any practical uses. 'Knowledge is power', said Bacon; and the Nazis are fond of quoting this statement. But Bacon never said that its power or utility constitutes the sole value of knowledge. He laid as much stress on 'light-giving' experiments as on 'fruit-bearing' experiments; and when he spoke of the usefulness of knowledge for 'the relief of man's estate' he meant the benefit of mankind as a whole, not of a small, self-appointed section of mankind at the expense of the rest. A recent report by a committee of British educational authorities says: 'Education

cannot stop short of recognizing the ideals of truth and beauty and goodness as final and binding for all times and in all places, as ultimate values.' ²⁶

The Nazis profess to have a new educational theory. What it is exactly they don't know. As late as November 1941, Hans Heidrich, one of their 'educationists', admitted that it was impossible as yet to formulate clearly the aims of the new education. ²⁷ In the main, their educational aims have been destructive, negative. So much of their work reminds one of the devil in Goethe's *Faust*—'the spirit that ever denies'. Hitler and his henchmen have favoured us with an abundance of utterances about education, and, however inconsistent and violent the views expressed may be, their purpose is only too clear. Let us take a glance at some of their utterances.

Universal education, according to Hitler, is 'the most corroding and disintegrating poison'. The intellect he regards as 'a disease of life'. ²⁸ 'I will have no intellectual training,' he yells. 'Knowledge is ruin to my young men.' ²⁹ 'Our task', echoes F. Haiser, 'is to smother the forces of critical intellectualism.' ³⁰ 'Hitler's objection to intellectual education is due partly to his conviction that his age is one in which, not the intellect, but the fist decides.' ³¹ For the most part, however, his objection is grounded on his fear of intellectual people. They 'think too much', and may become a danger to him. He wants obedient followers, who will not ask the reason why, but do and die. 'Loyalty', according to Rust, Hitler's Minister of Education, 'is the greatest attribute of the simple man. The cleverer he becomes, the less his sense of loyalty.' ³² So when Hitler prescribes a life-long education for the

Germans, it is not because he wants them to increase knowledge or to improve their intelligence. No. 'The whole function of education', says Rust, 'is to create Nazis.'³³ In other words, the purpose of Nazi education is to train warriors, and technicians, etc. who can produce and maintain armaments, and furnish all the other requirements of an army. Hence the military character of German education, not only in the universities and colleges, but also in the schools. And it is significant that the Minister of Education is not a man of any real learning or remarkable intelligence, but one who has long enjoyed the reputation of always 'spoiling for a fight', and of preferring to 'use his head as a battering ram' rather than as an organ of thought. Before he joined the Nazis he had been a schoolmaster in Hanover, but was discharged when a medical commission certified that he was of unbalanced mind.³⁴

In order to maintain his hold on the universities, Hitler filled many important academic posts with his henchmen. One reason for his academic purge (of which more will be said presently) was to create vacancies for his lieutenants. The suitability of these men for their posts may be judged from the fact that some of them subsequently joined Himmler's Gestapo, and others ended in prison as criminals.

The elevation of Hitler to the office of high-priest of German education would be very amusing if it were not so tragic. The universities are run not by votaries of truth and humanity, but by yes-men who prostrate themselves before the new Moloch, and do what he bids them. They do not ask 'what is true?' or what is right? but 'what does the Führer want us to say?'³⁵ And the Führer wants them to say anything that is

likely to rouse and stimulate in their students the *Furor Teutonicus*, so as to conquer the world for him. Nietzsche has warned the world against Germany's dangerous proneness to self-intoxication. Many thousands of teachers throughout Germany are just purveyors of such stimulants. Hitler is the supreme mixer of poisonous cocktails ; and some of his lieutenants are notorious toppers and dope-fiends.

In his book, *Mein Kampf* (ed. 1938, pp. 195, 258 f.), Hitler described slavery as 'the most hideous thing in human life', and he wrathfully denounced the politicians who crawled before the ex-Kaiser, and lacked sufficient manly dignity to contradict him when necessary. But what has Hitler done ? He has enslaved the German people more 'thoroughly' than has ever been done before. He may flatter them as 'the master folk', and lure them with the promise of bossing and looting other peoples and countries ; but all the same they are mere slaves, body and soul. Quite suitably one of the deans in the University of Berlin, Professor F. A. Six, was promoted to his distinguished academic office from the ranks of Himmler's Gestapo. But the Minister of Education has assured German university students that they are 'the standard-bearers of freedom'.

There have been some signs of revolt. During the winter 1936-7 Schiller's drama, *Don Carlos*, was performed in the theatres of many German cities. The passages (Act III) : 'Give up this deification of yourself which is destroying us' and 'Give us back freedom of thought' were greeted with storms of applause in all these theatres ; and an official Nazi paper deemed it necessary to warn audiences that this kind of applause might have unpleasant consequences for them.³⁶ In

the universities, too, Hitler appears to have encountered some little resistance ; and Dr. Scheel and others have uttered thinly veiled threats to close the older universities and found new ones modelled on the Hitler schools. By the middle of 1943 the prayer ' Lord, set us free ! ' was chalked on the ruins of many houses in several bombed towns in the Rhineland and Ruhr.³⁷ Earlier in the same year three students and a professor from the University of Munich were executed for carrying on anti-Hitler propaganda. The official students' weekly, *Die Bewegung*, referred to similar subversive activities carried on by other students.³⁸

CHAPTER III

ENTRENCHMENT AND RETRENCHMENT

AN ACADEMIC PURGE

THE decision to turn German universities and schools into Nazi nurseries naturally required that they should be staffed only with dependable Nazis. Anybody suspected of democratic or liberal views had to be got rid of. Accordingly, many teachers were squeezed out—some were dismissed, some were retired before their time, and others were persuaded to resign 'voluntarily'. The Nazis preferred the last of these methods, as least likely to create consternation in other countries. For a time at least they wanted to conceal from others the full extent of their military and political schemes. In order to give this purge the appearance of a concession to the spontaneous demand of the students, Nazi agents among the students instituted boycotts of non-Nazi teachers, demanded their dismissal, etc. as early as 1932 or even earlier. The case of Professor Gumbel has already been referred to.

The teachers who were most affected by the turbulence and the purge were those of Jewish or partly Jewish descent. In 1933 the students in the University of Berlin put up posters demanding that Jews should be treated as aliens; that the works of Jewish authors should be in Hebrew, but if in German then they should be marked as 'translations'; and that German script should be used by Germans only. The muse of history must have smiled when, in 1941, the Minister of Education decreed

that German script should not be taught at schools any more ! The motive, of course, was characteristic of the Nazis. The use of German script, it was feared, ' might act as an obstruction to other nations enjoying the treasures of German literature just when Germany was assuming the leadership of Europe ' .³⁹

Nazi Jew-hatred, as everybody knows by now, is alleged to be based on a ' racial ' theory. Hitler appears to have been encouraged in this racialism by some of the cattle-breeders among his associates. Scientific biologists have described Hitler's racial theory as ' rubbish ' . It is not worth discussing (though something will have to be said about it in a later chapter), because Hitler himself does not believe in it—he just uses it sometimes as a specious excuse for exploiting a blind prejudice of Christendom to his own advantage. The term ' Aryan ' , even as Hitler uses it, is not a biological, but a Nazi category. He applies it not only to his adopted countrymen but also to his Axis allies, the Italians, and the Japanese. Apparently anybody who helps him is an ' Aryan '—even Jews like General Milch, Baron Oppenheim, Eidlitz, Hanussen-Steinschneider, Lincoln-Trebitsch, and others are ' Aryans ' , because he finds, or found, them particularly useful. If gorillas and baboons could be trained to fight for Hitler, they too would be ' Aryans '—and who doubts that morally they would compare favourably with the Nazis ?

Hitler and his fellow-gangsters are prepared to use any weapon, fair or foul, in the pursuit of their fiendish purpose. Anti-Semitism is just their most potent instrument for the disintegration of free countries. The Nazis have made no secret of this. One of them, Dr. Best, has made it perfectly clear. ' The Jewish

question', according to him, 'is the dynamite with which we explode the forts where the last liberalist snipers have their nests. People who abandon the Jews abandon thereby their former way of life with its false ideas of liberty. They can only then participate in our struggle for the New Order.'⁴⁰ The 'New Order' is, of course, that of total subjection to Hitler.

Here is a short list of the universities where Nazi students organized boycotts against Jewish professors: Heidelberg, 1932; Breslau, January 1933; Kiel, April 1933; Berlin, May 1933; Frankfurt a/M., May 1933 (when they also forcibly excluded all Jewish students from the university); Munich, June 1933.⁴¹ In Berlin the students celebrated the event by the wholesale destruction of books written by Jewish and other liberal-minded authors, including Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*. They also destroyed the entire library of the Magnus-Hirschfeld Institute. Bonfires of books were also lit by students in the Universities of Breslau, Dresden, Frankfurt, Göttingen, Kiel, Stuttgart, and other universities.⁴² It was the only kind of light these young barbarians were capable of getting from good books.

The number of teachers of university standing who were dismissed in 1933 is not known exactly. Estimates vary from 1145 to 1684, according to the categories included. The following table shows the number of dismissals, in 1933, at the ten largest German universities:⁴³

Berlin	242	Munich	32
Leipzig	43	Frankfurt	108
Bonn	24	Hamburg	56
Breslau	68	Köln	43
Heidelberg	60	Göttingen	45

Many of the dismissed teachers received posts abroad. So some Nazis urged the confiscation of the passports of all professors who were offered posts outside Germany ; but Hitler was not yet ready to outrage the conscience of the civilized world to that extent. Very few of the university teachers retained were genuine Nazis, but only about three of them raised their voices in protest against the dismissal of their colleagues or against the burning of the books, and one of the three was a Swiss (Professor Barth) who resigned his chair in the University of Berlin and returned to Switzerland.⁴⁴ Some three hundred of the professors actually signed a declaration in praise of Hitler—rather reminiscent of the ninety-three German professors whose subservience and opportunism had prompted them to sign a foolish declaration on the outbreak of the first World War. Most of the others, though not at all Nazi at first, soon submitted and took the oath of allegiance to Hitler. The dismissals and 'voluntary' resignations continued. By the end of 1936 about 2532 out of the 5382 university teachers in office in 1933 had left. Only 216 of them had died, and some must have retired in the normal course of events ; but the bulk of them had been squeezed out.⁴⁵ According to the Minister of Education in Baden, the number of teachers dismissed from German universities by 1938 was about 2800.⁴⁶ Many of the most famous scholars and scientists were thus lost to the German universities and colleges.

The sufferings of the displaced teachers were terrible. Some committed suicide, some were beaten up by Nazi toughs, and some were put into concentration camps. The vacancies created by these displacements were filled at best by young teachers of no academic standing,

at worst by Gestapo men, who had never studied at a university, and were criminals. It was one of the purposes of the purge to provide jobs and loot for Hitler's henchmen. Some of the German papers actually boasted of this achievement.⁴⁷ In no other country, they said, has there been such a sweeping change of personnel in the whole field of academic study. About a third of all university posts had been newly filled with energetic Nazis. In May 1939 it was announced that 45 per cent of the entire teaching staff at the universities and technical colleges had been replaced by good Nazis.⁴⁸ But the students could not all be fooled by the Nazi authorities; they soon realized the incompetence of the newly appointed teachers, whom they referred to as 'brown teachers' (after the brown shirts of the Nazis, and Hitler's 'Brown House' in Munich)—an expression which soon became synonymous with 'ignoramuses'.⁴⁹ One bold spirit published 'a cartoon depicting the cloistral seclusion of a university building into which comes striding a Neanderthaloid being hung about with the implements of war, while two professors watch the terrifying ingress. The legend ran: "Don't worry, Joseph, this is only Professor Einstein's successor."'⁵⁰

The traditional Western ideal of the scholar, the pursuit of objective knowledge and cultivation of a liberal-minded humanism, suffered a total eclipse in Hitler's Germany. What was the new ideal to take its place? Here it is in the words of Rust, the Minister of Education: 'In the spirit of Adolf Hitler there has been born a new type of student whose prototype was the immortal working student, Horst Wessel. German professors and students join in this spirit!' ⁵¹ Who was this 'immortal' Horst Wessel? He was neither a

student nor a worker but 'an adventurous loafer' who 'lived with a notorious whore and earned money as procurer'. 'While his mistress was making money he was breaking up meetings and taking part in bloody street fights between workers and Nazi toughs'; and he was killed in one of these brawls. He composed 'a brutal and bombastic' song, 'Up with the Flag!', and set it to a stolen melody. It has become the Nazi anthem. Such was the original of the new ideal set before German professors and students. An appropriate symbol of the Nazi prostitution of education! In January 1944 the singing of the 'Horst Wessel' was forbidden by the German authorities, unless special permission had been obtained for pre-arranged assemblies. The reason for the ban was the prevalence of many parodies of the Nazi hymn.⁵²

The wholesale purge of teachers produced its inevitable effect. In November 1936 the official journal of the Ministry of Education complained about the difficulty of finding qualified university assistants in most technical and some other subjects.⁵³ In January 1937 Professor Krieck announced that a third of the universities would have to be closed altogether for lack of teachers.⁵⁴ By the autumn of 1939 less than a dozen of the twenty-three German universities were accepting students.⁵⁵ And the academic balance-sheet can only be appreciated when it is borne in mind that many institutes and departments had been closed in 1933 already, or soon afterwards, merely because Hitler had no use for long-term scientific researches which had no immediate importance for war preparations. But now there was a shortage that was pressing even from the standpoint of the Nazi short-term plans. We shall return to this later. In the meantime

it may be of interest to note which subjects of study suffered most through the dismissals of non-Nazi teachers. In the following short table the numbers are those of the teachers dismissed in 1933 : ⁵⁶

Medical Sciences . . .	412	Technology . . .	85
Social Sciences . . .	173	Mathematics . . .	60
Chemistry . . .	138	History . . .	60
Law . . .	132	Biology . . .	53
Physics . . .	106	Psychology . . .	51
Languages . . .	95	Art and History of Art .	50

Among the departments or institutes closed altogether were the following : Nohl's Pedagogical Institute in Göttingen ; Rona's Institute of Enzyme Chemistry ; Erdmann's Institute of Experimental Morphology ; Meyerhof's Department of Muscle Physiology ; Roux's Department of Experimental Embryology ; and the Department of International Law, at Heidelberg.

REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS

One of the first things the Nazis did when they took over the control of the State was to reduce the number of students at the universities and colleges. The motives which prompted this measure were rather mixed. One motive was to put an end to a source of unemployment. It was said that there were some 50,000 unemployed ex-university men, and that their numbers might increase to 100,000 in the course of two years if left unchecked. Now, one of the most alluring carrots which Hitler had held out to the Germans was his promise to do away with unemployment. So he had to do something to prevent an increase in the academic proletariat. Another avowed motive was to reduce to a minimum some of

the evil consequences of study, and of town life which it usually entails. 'If', writes one of the leading Nazi papers, 'fewer Nordic people go to universities they will be able to marry earlier, and will not be drawn so strongly into the cities where they lose their native strength, but will be able to find employment where they can preserve this strength and develop it. Accordingly one can say with Minister Hartnacke that a restriction on study is precisely a means of further Nordifying the Nordic man.'⁵⁷ Possibly the most powerful motive which induced Hitler to diminish the number of students was the one which he never avowed explicitly, but which is implicit in many of his own and his spokesmen's utterances. It is this. He was afraid that, in spite of his anti-intellectualist plans for the universities, they might produce too many students with a sufficient bent for independent thought to undermine their own loyalty and endanger his dictatorship.

The measures adopted to reduce the number of students in the universities and colleges were the following: First of all, non-Aryans were excluded. On paper, certain exceptions were made in favour of candidates whose fathers had fought in the first World War, provided that the non-Aryans did not constitute more than one and a half per cent of the total number of students in any faculty. In practice even this concession was not observed. Candidates for admission had to present their birth-certificates and the marriage-certificates of their parents and grandparents. An applicant who had even one Jewish grandparent was usually excluded.⁵⁸ Next, non-Nazis were kept out. In the application form every candidate had to give an account of past Nazi activities—participation in the work of the Hitler Youth,

or of the Storm Troopers, etc. Preference was given to proved young Nazis.⁵⁹ Thirdly, the Minister of Education issued an instruction to the examiners for school-leaving examinations that they should dissuade as many as possible from going to universities.⁶⁰ Lastly, maximum numbers were prescribed for the admission of new entrants to the universities and colleges. There were not to be more than 15,000 new entrants (of whom not more than 10 per cent might be women) in the session 1934-5. And each of the larger universities and technical colleges had a maximum quota of students (old and new) assigned to it. The following table enumerates these institutions and gives the quota for each of them : ⁶¹

<i>Universities</i>		<i>Technical Colleges, etc.</i>	
Berlin . . .	6600	Berlin . . .	2000
München . . .	5200	München . . .	2000
Leipzig . . .	3200	Dresden . . .	1500
Münster . . .	2800	Düsseldorf (Medical)	650
Köln . . .	2500	Hanover (Veterinary)	550
Frankfurt . . .	2000		
Hamburg . . .	2000		

The success of these restrictive measures exceeded all expectation. The number of new admissions was only 11,744, as against a permissible maximum of 15,000, and an actual enrolment of 24,256 in 1932-3 and 28,158 in 1931-2. The total number of students (old and new) dropped from about 117,682 in 1932-3, 123,468 in 1931-2, and about 138,000 in 1930-1 to about 85,023 for 1934-5.⁶² For a time the Nazis were delighted with their success. But not for long. Nemesis was waiting just round the corner, and the quota restrictions were scrapped as early as February 1935.

It may seem strange that the young Nazis did not take fuller advantage of the opportunities given them of studying at the universities and colleges. The reasons for this neglect are fairly obvious. The mentality of Nazi youths as a whole is not of the studious type. Moreover, Hitler, Goebbels, and other luminaries in the Nazi heaven had done their worst to belittle 'effete intellectualism', and generally to 'hold education in dishonour'. Lastly, the more intelligent of the young Nazis were cute enough to learn from the careers of the party officials that there were shorter cuts to wealth and power than through the academic avenues. Those who did enrol in a university are reported to have cut nearly all the classes except those held by high party officials. They did not seek truth, but useful party contacts.

Anyway, the decline in the number of students continued. At the end of 1935 there were only about 81,000 students; at the end of 1936, only about 67,000; in 1938, only about 58,325. According to Dr. Mentzel, of the German Ministry of Education, there were only some 60,000 students at universities and technical colleges in the summer of 1939, whereas there had been some 150,000 in the much smaller Germany of 1933.⁶³ (The 150,000 must include some categories of students not included in the figures given above, perhaps students in teachers' training colleges; or Dr. Mentzel may have been thinking of the maximum number of students in the days of the Weimar Republic, which was about 150,000.) He appealed to German parents to make sacrifices so that their children may get a higher education. He dwelt on the brilliant prospects of those who have passed through a university, and he offered financial

help to those who were prepared to become university students. Yet in 1940 there were only 50,000 students. One Nazi periodical actually suggested that pupils in secondary schools should not be allowed to leave school before matriculating.⁶⁴ What a change of front from the time when school examiners were instructed to discourage young people from going to universities or technical colleges! The reason for this change of front is to be found in the increasing shortage of trained men required in the professions and industries. But this deserves a section to itself.

CHAPTER IV

NEMESIS

BY dismissing so many Jewish and other non-Aryan or non-Nazi teachers, by depriving thousands of Jewish professional men of their jobs, and by deliberately reducing for a time the number of university students, the Nazis were unwittingly bringing about a serious dearth of properly trained men in the various professions. By 1937 there were grave shortages of teachers, engineers, chemists, and other trained men. Matters were aggravated by the fact that all university students had to do six months' labour service, and the men students had to do two years' military service in addition. Moreover, they entered the university ill prepared, because school-teaching had deteriorated, and too much time was devoted to extra-school activities. In 1941 the Ministry of Education reported a serious shortage of trained personnel for Government offices and schools, and proposed a reduction in the standard of qualifications and of examinations. In the same year the German Occupational Guidance Bureau estimated that by 1950 there would be a deficit of over 20,000 teachers, 20,000 lawyers, and about 14,000 qualified engineers.⁶⁵ And this in spite of the lure of reduced periods of study for various professions since 1939 or earlier. Let us look at the plight of some of the professions separately.

We may begin with Medicine. In 1933 about 412 university teachers of medical subjects were dismissed. Probably about 686 were dismissed by 1938, by which time

a total of some 2800 university teachers had been squeezed out, as compared with approximately 1684 in 1933. Moreover, some 3000 Jewish physicians were deprived of their practice in 1933. The number of medical students at the universities and other medical schools was 32,437 in the winter 1932-3, but only 22,797 in 1936-7.⁶⁶ By the beginning of 1939 the shortage of doctors was such that the period of medical training was reduced by one year to speed up the supply of new doctors. In 1941 things had come to such a pass that old retired doctors had to resume practice—one of them aged seventy is reported to have made 700 night visits in one year. Jewish doctors, who had been forbidden to practise, were re-admitted to the medical profession.⁶⁷ Some of the advertisements for medical and surgical assistants in hospitals in 1942 bear eloquent testimony to the shortage of trained skill. The advertisements say: 'Previous training not required', or 'previous knowledge desired but not necessary', or 'professional training desired but not essential', or 'professional knowledge not required'.⁶⁸ In 1943 nearly 4000 Dutch and several hundred Norwegian medical students were forcibly deported to Germany to work in hospitals there. The Reich Commissar of Holland also tried hard to lure Dutch doctors to Germany, but they refused 'to serve a country with which Holland is still at war'. It is reported that about a thousand foreign doctors are practising in the Reich.⁶⁹ But the recent total mobilization in Germany was held up by a dearth of qualified medical officers to examine the men called up who appealed on the ground of ill-health.⁷⁰ Moreover, with the approval of the Nazi authorities there has been a marked revival in Germany of 'nature' healers and

quacks of all sorts. These practitioners have their special institutes and organs. One of these periodicals has the true Hitler touch. 'Without exception', it has proclaimed, 'the works of the biggest scientists can be eliminated. They are no good.'⁷¹ It may seem strange that the Nazi Party, which has been deliberately planning this war for many years, should have so neglected to make sufficient provision for a competent medical service. Perhaps the answer is to be found in their supreme ideal. 'Death on the battlefield', declares one of their spokesmen, 'should be the most ardently desired end of life.'⁷² So why try to prevent such a consummation?

The legal profession and the civil service may be considered together, because the civil servants were usually picked from graduates in Law and the Social Sciences. Now the number of university teachers of these subjects who were dismissed in 1933 was 305; by 1938 these dismissals had probably risen to approximately 508. Some 4000 Jewish lawyers and 2000 Jewish officials had also lost their jobs in 1933. And the number of university students taking law and the social sciences had dropped from about 24,161 in the winter of 1932-3 to about 9680 in 1936-7.⁷³ So no wonder there was a scarcity of competent lawyers and of suitable candidates for the civil service.

The teaching profession (other than the university teachers) appears at first to have been exceptionally fortunate in Nazi Germany. The number of students in teachers' training colleges actually increased from about 5831 in the winter of 1932-3 to 8317 in 1936-7.⁷⁴ The shortage complained of above was probably due to the growing requirements of some of the new schools

started by the Nazis, and to the employment of teachers for purposes of propaganda outside schools. Moreover, there was a definite decline in the number of candidates suitable for secondary schools and for the higher teaching posts. In the school year 1940-1 only 900 candidates sat for the Prussian examination for higher teaching posts (as against 2200 in 1936-7, and 1690 in 1938-9), and of the 900 candidates only 644 passed the examination.⁷⁵ Anyway, the shortage grew sufficiently serious for the authorities to abrogate the regulation by which teachers retired at sixty-five. Many of those already retired were called upon to resume teaching. Teachers who had been dismissed in 1933 as 'politically unreliable' were reinstated. Private teachers were engaged. Short courses of three months' training were arranged in teachers' training colleges for the rapid supply of teachers. Women were given an eight-weeks' course and then let loose to act as assistant school-mistresses. Even people without any teaching qualifications whatever were employed to give some lessons.⁷⁶ Things came to such a pass that, in June 1940, the Minister of Education found it necessary to publish an assurance that it was not really intended to turn 'the profession of teaching into a profession of the untaught'.⁷⁷

For a long time Germany took the lead both in chemical science and in the chemical industry. It did not take the Nazis nearly as long to undermine this leadership as it had taken to achieve it. In 1933 about 138 university teachers of chemistry were dismissed. Among the dismissed teachers was Professor Fritz Haber and all his Jewish assistants. Haber was the director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical and Electro-Chemistry. This famous institute had been founded in

1911 by the Leopold Koppel Foundation on the suggestion of Haber, who directed its activities from its inception. During the first World War German agriculture was in grave danger because, owing to the blockade of Germany, nitrates could not be imported from Chile. Haber helped to save the situation by inventing the process of nitrogen-fixation. He died in exile in 1934. In 1935 three German scientific societies arranged to hold a memorial ceremony in his honour. Invitations were sent to his former colleagues, but the rector of the University of Berlin forbade their attendance. Nazi officials forbade the attendance of press representatives at the ceremony, and the publication of press notices. But the commemoration was held, nevertheless, at Harmack House, in the presence of a large assembly, which included many important industrialists and numerous old soldiers in uniform. Among the addresses delivered was one by an army officer, and several which had been written by teachers and officials who had not been allowed to be present.⁷⁸

The number of dismissals of university teachers of chemistry must have increased to about 230 by 1938. The number of German students pursuing chemical studies had fallen in the intervening years from about 3543 in the winter of 1932-3 to about 2058 in 1936-7. The shortage became so acute that even the Nazis realized, by the winter of 1938-9, that Germany was losing, or had already lost, her leading place in the fields of scientific and industrial chemistry.⁷⁹ In view of the importance of chemistry, for both economics and defence, appeals were made for additional students, and the examination standards were lowered.⁸⁰

In the field of Technology, mainly engineering, the

course of events was very similar. Some 85 university teachers had been dismissed in 1933, and the number of such dismissals had probably increased to about 142 by 1938. The number of university students in this group of subjects fell from about 14,477 in the winter of 1932-3 to about 7649 in 1936-7. Engineering is Germany's premier industry, and is of supreme importance for Nazi war preparations. So the shortage of trained personnel caused no little alarm. It was estimated in 1935 that there was a shortage of some 5000 trained engineers; in 1939 the shortage amounted to about 18,000; and it was expected to reach the figure of about 35,000 in 1942. The number of candidates from the higher technical colleges and schools of mining who passed the examinations for the higher diplomas in engineering was on an average 2700 per annum from 1928 till 1936. In 1937 the number fell to 2200. In 1938 it was only 1000. A similar decline took place in the junior technical schools. In the years 1928 and 1929 about 9000 candidates passed their examination annually; in 1937 only about 4300 were successful. The total annual requirements as regards both classes of engineers was estimated at round 10,000; and the actual annual supply was only about half of what the country needed.⁸¹ The shortages, moreover, accumulated as the years passed.

Most surprising of all, perhaps, in view of what Mirabeau had called 'the national industry of Prussia', is the shortage of army officers, or rather of suitable candidates for training as army officers. Considering the complete militarization of schools, colleges, and universities which the Nazis have brought about (see the next chapter), one might have expected a super-

abundance of such material. But that is not so. In 1942 the German High Command, to everybody's amazement, suddenly announced that a school-leaving or matriculation certificate would no longer be required of applicants for commissions in the army.⁸² This reduction of the educational standard for army officers was not made from choice. The products of the Nazi system of education had elicited some frank and unflattering comments from high army officers, and official army organs, already in 1937, if not sooner. In that year the army authorities complained of defects in character and training among new student officers. 'Cadets', they said, 'show a striking inability to think logically.' In 1938 an army, periodical referred to 'an absolutely indescribable passion for phrase-making conspicuous in recent classes of cadets'.⁸³ In 1941 psychological tests carried out in the psychological laboratory of the German army, as part of the entrance examination for cadets, formed the basis of a damning report on the methods of their education. The candidates were described as morally unsatisfactory, undisciplined, untrustworthy, and lacking in the very rudiments of knowledge. The report laid special emphasis on their astonishing deficiency in the power of logical thinking.⁸⁴ In the same year, the press explained that teachers at the universities, at technical schools, and in army colleges had to waste a lot of time in attempts to make good the students' lack of knowledge of the most elementary subjects.⁸⁵ In February 1942 the Inspector of Army Education, in an address delivered at the University of Cologne, said that the military as well as the technical authorities preferred to draw their recruits from the gymnasias, where some humanistic knowledge was still being taught.⁸⁶

The standard of education among Nazi officials, even those who are employed in offices in control of literary works, is appallingly low, as is illustrated by the following incident reported by Mr. W. Deuel. A publisher at Mainz brought out a new edition of *Grimm's Fairy Tales*. Thereupon the official Nazi Association of Authors sent him the following letter: 'Your firm has published a work by the Brothers Grimm. These authors are not yet registered with our office, as required by law. We request you to furnish us with their addresses within one week, and at the same time inform us whether the Brothers Grimm are foreign citizens or German authors residing abroad. . . . Heil Hitler!' ⁸⁷

Since the outbreak of the second World War in 1939, conditions in the educational institutions of Germany have vastly deteriorated. It has been estimated that 50 per cent of all the teachers and students had been called up for military service by 1940; and the inevitable wastage of warfare has been proceeding on an increasing scale. All sorts of attempts have been made to obtain a supply of trained personnel. Shortened courses of study or training, lower qualifications for entrants, and a reduced standard of examinations—all these have been put into effect. But the results have been confessedly unsatisfactory. Some German educationists and the German press have expressed their anxiety about the condition of education in consequence of the many short-cuts that have been introduced. ⁸⁸

An additional attempt to obtain trained personnel was initiated in 1941. Wounded officers and men back from the Eastern front or from the Africa Corps were sent to various universities and technical schools for special courses of study and training. In the summer

of 1942 there were some 1260 such students in Freiburg, and 500 in Cologne, and no doubt many more elsewhere.⁸⁹ The Nazi press published a special appeal for the erection of suitable barracks to house the wounded soldiers while studying at a university or technical institute. By September 1943, wounded soldiers were almost the only men students in Germany.⁹⁰

But one of the Nazis' principal methods of making good the shortage of scientific and technical skill is the method so characteristic of them—the use of the press-gang in the various countries now in their occupation. Universities, technical colleges, and research institutions of all kinds have been taken over by them. There such trained scientists and technicians as have survived and remained in the various countries are apparently forced to work for them. To what extent this method has been successful it is difficult to say. On the one hand, educated people are not likely to be willing to help barbarian invaders. On the other hand, the Nazis are experts in the use of brutally effective methods to overcome every kind of opposition. The sword of Damocles was a trifle in comparison with the concentration camps of Himmler. So the Nazis probably get some help from the enslaved scientists and technicians in the occupied countries. But this method of trying to evade one kind of Nemesis is only an invitation to another and greater Nemesis—when the day of reckoning comes, as come it assuredly will.

CHAPTER V

THE MILITARIZATION OF EDUCATION

REFERENCE has already been made to the 'black' or irregular armies formed by the demobilized officers after Germany's defeat in 1918. They were a resurrection of the old Teutonic warrior bands. These ruthless mercenary fighters furnished Hitler with some of his most efficient supporters, as well as with his leading ideas of what kind of a State he wanted, and how 'education' could be adapted to the building up of such a State. So it is necessary to have some idea of the mentality of these adventurers. We are reliably informed that these freebooters were characterized by a deliberate pursuit of danger, reckless living, and a contempt for life. 'Their creed was intoxication and death, revolt and adventure—iron discipline and unrestrained plundering, pillage, ravage, and murder.'⁹¹ Many of Hitler's henchmen have vied with each other in their glowing praise of this kind of creed. 'The warrior band is the noblest community.' 'Man standing by man, and column by column: here is the battle-array; here the temple; here the sacrament; here the State.' In short, 'soldiering is a religion'. 'The State is an armed camp of Knights of the Teutonic Order.'⁹² That is to say, the Nazi State; all other States are only there for the Teutonic warriors to loot and ravage. Such is Hitler's view of what Germany should be. One characteristic, and now rather amusing, expression of it is to be found in his Order of the Day

addressed to the German armies near the Soviet capital in October 1941. 'Soldiers,' it said, 'before you is Moscow, a big beautiful Oriental city. It has innumerable hotels, theatres, restaurants. The *Führer* looks to you to get there, and all that is in it is yours.' ⁹³

With such an idea of the German State, the complete Nazi is the completely ruthless warrior: and the whole system of German education has become a hotbed of jingoism without parallel in all history.⁹⁴ And the Nazis are proud of it. Schoolboys are trained in military activities—marching, map-reading, shooting, and spying. They spend several weeks each year in camp; and round the camp fire 'they sing of battles, blood-flags, and heroes' graves'.⁹⁵ Army officers co-operate with the teachers to facilitate 'military and inspired teaching', and military examples have to be used to illustrate lessons in almost every subject.⁹⁶ The teacher must seek to 'arouse in the children a fanatical pride in their race and in the destiny of their country, so that they will fight unflinchingly for their country'.⁹⁷

By 1935 admission to a university was, with few exceptions, made to depend on the completion of six months' labour service. This consisted of indoctrination with Nazi dogmas, and military training. The men were usually trained as military pioneers or sappers; the women were taught first aid, but also the use of small firearms. The teachers likewise must do six months' labour service. In 1935 there were 200,000 men and women doing such labour service. The men also had first to serve in the army, one year until 1936, two years subsequently.⁹⁸

The universities underwent a striking transformation. An American visitor to the universities of Berlin, Göttingen,

Halle, Heidelberg, and Tübingen reports that they all had 'the atmosphere of military camps. Most of the students were in uniform, so were many of the teachers.'⁹⁹ The uniformed professors looked rather like overgrown boy-scouts. 'On national holidays the professors must appear in columns like the guilds in the *Meistersinger*.' The 'Heil Hitler!' greeting is, of course, obligatory. So is the Nazi salute.¹⁰⁰ ('Does Hitler realize that he has borrowed this gesture from the Zulus?'¹⁰¹)

Military instruction and indoctrination with Nazi ideas form the major portion of university education. 'Every subject', says a Nazi authority, 'should be treated as applied politics'—that is to say, Nazi politics, of course.¹⁰² All students have to attend certain courses of lectures on military subjects and Nazi racial, sociological, and political theories. Moreover, all courses of lectures are impregnated with Nazi views. Like the professors and the students many subjects of study have been put into military uniforms. 'Physics', 'Chemistry', 'Biology', 'Medicine', 'Hygiene', etc. now appear as 'War-Physics', 'War-Chemistry', 'War-Biology', 'War-Medicine', 'War-Hygiene', and so on. The significance of the change lies in the fact that there is no interest in the sciences as such, but only in those parts or aspects of them which have an immediate and practical use for war purposes. Indeed, a new and all-comprehensive study has been set up with the designation of 'War-Science', and all other studies are explicitly described as merely branches or aspects of this supreme 'War-Science'. According to an edict of November 1933 every male student must join the Storm Troopers, if he did not belong to them before entering the university.

'There are no more civilians at the university. The Storm Trooper has triumphed.'¹⁰³ Students who do special work for the Nazi Party may cut all classes and courses of lectures for a whole week at a time, and special allowance must be made for this when they take their examinations.¹⁰⁴ In any case there are no afternoon classes or lectures, so that every student may join in Party activities. To spare zealous students headaches and qualms of conscience the university 'Official Guide' assures them that they 'may with a good conscience cut even main lectures that do not attract' them.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, no kind of attendance register is kept. The teachers' initials entered in the student's 'study book' (or list of courses) after the first and the last lecture of the term (or rather 'half-year') are all the evidence required; all the lectures between the first and last can be cut with impunity. And so the lecture-rooms are rather deserted except when the lecturer happens to hold high office in the Nazi Party. The ordinary teachers dare not take any steps to remedy this absenteeism, as the students possess considerable powers over them—for mischief. The Minister of Education has found it necessary to issue a warning to students against their threatening attitude towards some of the teachers; but the warning has had no effect.¹⁰⁶

The spirit of barrack life pervades the universities also in other ways than those already indicated. As far as possible, students are housed in community houses and work in teams. 'Solitude and freedom', said Humboldt, 'are the pre-requisites of science and learning.'¹⁰⁷ But Hitler does not care for learning or science. His young Nazis are deliberately discouraged from thinking and studying in solitude. 'All men's miseries',

wrote Pascal, 'come from his inability to sit quietly in a room alone.'¹⁰⁸ But Hitler has an irresistible longing to heap miseries on mankind, so young Germans are not allowed to sit quietly in a room alone. Special problems are set for these student groups. Here are two of them, just to illustrate their tendentious character: 'German Physics and Einstein's Theory of Relativity', 'The History of the Heidelberg Observatory with special Reference to the Jewish Question'.¹⁰⁹ Of peculiar interest is one of the big war problems set to the German students by their chief. Early in January 1940 Dr. Scheel, the leader of the Students' League, asked the students to adopt as 'the focus of their scientific work' the collecting of arguments against England for use in war propaganda.¹¹⁰ The response was enormous, as there was a good prospect of obtaining some cash by selling the collected material to the press, the Ministry of Propaganda, and possibly to others. In the course of a year more than 6000 works on all sorts of subjects were searched through; and the English press from the beginning of the century was ransacked. The material collected was published in part by the Nazi Party, in part by the German Ministry of Propaganda, and partly in numerous monographs.¹¹¹ Here was a grand opportunity to apply the Nazi principle that the writing of history has nothing to do with facts or with truth, but only with the provision of potent 'hate potions'. And they made the most of their opportunity. German professors had for a long time set them a bad example. No other country could show such a high proportion of charlatans and chauvinists among its academic historians. Long before the advent of Hitler and his mercenary distortionists, Nietzsche had occasion to make caustic

comments about the Germans who 'alter and touch up' history, embellishing it with alluring fictions which 'entice the brave to rashness and the enthusiastic to fanaticism', so that there is constant danger of murder and war. 'There is', he wrote, 'history according to the lights of Imperial Germany; and there is anti-Semitic history; there is also history written with an eye to the court, and Herr von Treitschke is not ashamed of himself.'¹¹² Now, of course, they do everything with an eye to Hitler, who has a whole army of Professors Treitschke.

One of the most obvious manifestations of the militarization of the German universities is the revival and intensification of duelling among the students. Nazi decrees make it obligatory for all men students to learn the art of swordsmanship; and a more dangerous form of duelling has been prescribed than that practised formerly. Germany's attitude to duelling usually betrayed her split mentality. At present there is no law in Germany, only Nazi edicts. But when there still was such a thing in Germany, duelling was forbidden by law; but enforced by custom or convention. If an army officer fought a duel and survived it, he was sentenced to detention in a fortress for the breach of law; but if, in certain circumstances, he refused to fight a duel, he was dismissed from the army. Similarly, if a university student belonging to a students' corps, or some other duelling association, fought a duel, he was liable to imprisonment; but if he refused to fight, then he was expelled from his corps. When I discussed the matter with a German educationist during the republican period, he insisted that the practice of duelling was essential for German students because Germany was

encircled by enemies, and the students, who were the leaders of the German people (a common delusion), must be trained in a martial spirit. Further questions about the alleged 'encirclement by enemies' eventually elicited the assertion that the German Empire must expand in accordance with the energy and the merits of its people, and neighbouring countries offered the most obvious fields for extending Germany's 'living space'! The Nazi justification of duelling was formulated cryptically by Dr. Scheel, the leader of the Students' League, in 1937. 'Injured honour', he asserted, 'can be atoned for only with blood.'¹¹³ What the word 'honour' can possibly mean among thugs who are unacquainted even with that minimum of honour said to exist between thieves, it is impossible to conceive. More revealing, and more important for the understanding of Germany's mentality, is an explanation published by F. Cornelius, one of the 'dialecticians at Hitler's right hand'. He says that the practice of duelling marks a fundamental moral and spiritual difference between Germans and other Indo-Germanic peoples. Among the latter, order is maintained on the principle that the verdict of the judges must prevail, even if such verdicts are occasionally mistaken. The Germans, however, do not leave the decision to the judges but to the parties concerned. The judge is only a master of ceremonies, the parties must fight it out among themselves, even when it is only a matter of argumentation. The duel, of course, is thus the characteristic method of German justice.¹¹⁴ This is illuminating. Germany will never bow to a decision of an international court, but will fight whenever she sees a chance of taking what she wants! In strange contrast with the above account

of the German conception of 'justice', an account abundantly confirmed, in its naked brutality, by Hitler and his army of professors of German law, there is on record what reads like a highly civilized address on justice, delivered at a gathering of young Germans in Berlin by Dr. H. Schacht in May 1937. Here are some of his utterances. 'No community or State can exist without justice, order, and discipline. Where injustice reigns, order is destroyed. As the Bible expresses it : *Righteousness exalteth a nation*. Justice is the most effective weapon against class controversy. You ought, therefore, not only to respect law and justice yourselves, but you should fight injustice and lawlessness wherever you find them. Be courageous, and do not be afraid of the truth. Another fine text out of the Bible says : *Defend truth even to the death, and God will fight for you*. That is to say, that he who defends justice, honesty, and truth will feel the power of the Divine in himself.' ¹¹⁵ Did Dr. Schacht really mean what he appears to have said? Or was he just fooling the outside world, and spreading a smoke screen behind which Nazi Germany was completing her preparations for another Armageddon? Anyhow, the above summary of the notorious financier's address formulates sufficiently the faith of the Allies, and the lessons which they want to teach the Axis powers in the only way in which these can be taught.

Chauvinism is not a German monopoly ; but nowhere has it been more deliberately and systematically cultivated than in Germany. Hitler himself not only is a chauvinist, but is very proud of his chauvinism. The fear of chauvinism is for him just 'a symptom of impotence'. He insists that 'the greatest revolutions that have taken place on this earth would have been unthinkable

if the motive power had been the bourgeois virtues of peace and order instead of fanatical, aye hysterical, passions'.¹¹⁶ So the German universities, indeed all German schools, have been set the task of training chauvinists after the likeness of their idol. Just as duelling has been extended and intensified in order to inure the students to the shedding of blood, and to make them bloody-minded, so certain subjects of study have been especially introduced, invented, or twisted in order to fan the flames of chauvinism. The principal studies in question are 'History', 'Racial Science', 'Regional Studies', and 'Geopolitics'. The general character of these studies will be described in another chapter. For the present it is enough to say that in none of them is the aim to discover, describe, or to explain facts. None of them, as taught now in German universities, is a search for truth. Their sole purpose is not to clear the mind but to stir the blood; to inspire the students with a fanatical faith in the incomparable superiority of the German 'race'; to fill them with arrogant fancies about the glory of German history and the splendour of German heroes; to instil into them a profound contempt and hatred for other peoples; to make them covetous of the whole earth and the fullness thereof; and to thrill them with the prospect of attacking other countries with fire and sword, reducing their populations by wholesale murder, and enslaving the survivors, so that the Germans might live the adventurous life of Teutonic knights and robber barons.

The fruits of such a prostitution of higher education are most unsavoury. American investigators in Germany who had ample opportunity to observe German students at close quarters have given revolting pictures of them.

Some of the students boasted about their share in the murder of 'communists', the purges of Jews, the burning of synagogues, etc. Acts were narrated which are too foul to be described. But it will be sufficient to give a snapshot of a students' end-of-term excursion as witnessed by an American observer. About thirty students from one of the classes of the University of Berlin went into the country. Just before sunset they were in a lonely part of a wood. The senior student, or 'leader', took a collection of books out of his knapsack and called out the title of each book in turn. The first was a volume of the Talmud (a post-Biblical work on Hebrew law, folk-lore, etc.), which he described as 'a despicable book of a despicable race'. He spat on it, and passed it round to the others to do likewise. He then placed it on a heap of branches and poured some gasoline on it. Next, a copy of the Koran came in for similar treatment. Then followed a copy of Shakespeare, a copy of the Treaty of Versailles, a Life of Stalin. Finally came a Bible. The 'leader' gave the Hitler-Zulu salute, and shouted: 'Thus do we treat everything that defies us!' He snapped a cigarette-lighter and lighted the bonfire. Thick smoke rose to the sky. The students stood up and sang *Deutschland, Deutschland Über Alles* and *Horst Wessel*.¹¹⁷ A perfect ending to a perfect day of a perfect Nazi! Hitler has expressed his determination to train a new generation of Germans, 'violent, domineering, intrepid, brutal', from whom 'the world will shrink back'.¹¹⁸ He has succeeded only too well. The world does recoil from these sons of Belial.

Rowdyism, arrogance, mischievousness, and crime are widespread in young Germany. Even some German

teachers are asking: 'Why do we talk of educating other races while our own youths run wild?' The notorious *Schwarze Korps*, of all papers, has actually recommended a thrashing for them.¹¹⁹ Hitler himself has felt impelled to wind up one of his big speeches, in October 1942, with an undertaking to put down criminal disorder on the home front. And early in 1944 Thierack, the Nazi Minister for Justice, found it necessary to issue a decree ordering the punishment of stubborn juvenile offenders against working discipline.¹²⁰ But what else could be expected from a generation to whom 'the imitation of the Führer' was assiduously preached as the new *Imitatio Dei*? Such are 'the steadfast young Nazis' whom some innocents have praised as 'the saviours of Europe'!¹²¹ The goat-footed god, Pan, may indeed be proud of his Nazis—they are Pan-Germans in more senses than one.

CHAPTER VI

ACADEMIC IDEALS—INTERNATIONAL AND NAZI

AN adequate appreciation of what the Nazis have done to higher education in Germany requires a comparison of the best civilized ideals of academic study with those set before it by the Nazis, and incidentally a comparison of the civilized conceptions of the value, aims, and methods of science and learning with those advocated by the Nazis. We proceed accordingly to make these comparisons as succinctly as possible.

The widespread interest in higher education throughout the civilized world is sufficiently attested by the large sums of money devoted to the purpose by governments, and other public bodies and philanthropic institutions, and by the great sacrifices which parents frequently make in order to give their offspring a good education. If we inquire into the grounds of the high esteem of academic study, the answer will vary from person to person, and possibly utilitarian considerations may be found to predominate. But the question can be put in a somewhat different and more significant form. We may ask: What do competent educationists want to achieve by means of higher education? What kind of results do they hope for, or expect? No precise or simple answer can be given. But it is possible to indicate the principal results aimed at, even if they are not always achieved, or are achieved only in part or to a modest extent.

Now, the main aims of higher education are fourfold. They may be stated as follows, but no special significance need be attached to the order in which they are stated. The arrangement may well represent the order of importance in the eyes of those who have not been born with a gold or silver spoon in their mouth. On the other hand, the arrangements may have to be completely reversed from the point of view of the ultimate significance of the various aims. For the limited purpose of this inquiry, however, their relative order of merit need not be considered. With this explanation in mind, the aims of academic study, as usually accepted in civilized countries, may be set out as follows :

- (1) The acquisition of such knowledge or skill as will qualify the student for one of the professions, or for voluntary public service.
- (2) The development of an interest in some branch of learning or science for its own sake, that is to say, not merely as a means of livelihood but as an enrichment of life, as an enlightenment of the understanding.
- (3) The formation of a good character, that is, the cultivation of a proper appreciation of what is truly valuable in human life, and of a persistent devotion to such values. This is more than *knowledge* ; it is *wisdom*—the wisdom of making the best of human life, and not merely of one's own life.
- (4) The development of a certain imponderable complex of qualities commonly called culture—refinements that add grace to character.

How far the several aims of higher education can be realized independently of each other is a debatable problem that need not be discussed here. It is fairly clear that a high degree of knowledge cannot be acquired without such devotion as calls for character. But it is also reasonably clear that a great scientist or scholar is not always a great character, and that many great characters are not great scholars or scientists. Genuine culture does not appear to accompany with any regularity either knowledge or wisdom, though in its highest manifestations it probably is the fine flower of wisdom and knowledge. Still there may be a considerable measure of refinement without a great deal of either. 'Finishing schools for young ladies' seem to build on this assumption. It may well be that for the most part they only succeed in teaching the externals of 'good form'; but it is not unlikely that a person who has habitually cultivated the external manifestations of 'good form' is well on the way to acquiring genuine culture. Our immediate purpose does not call for a close examination of the problems just indicated, however interesting they may be in themselves. For the present we may perhaps find sufficient confirmation of the above formulation of the general aims of higher education in our habitual use of such phrases as 'a scholar and a gentleman', or 'an officer and a gentleman'.

Let us now compare the Nazi conception of the aims of higher education with those outlined above. It will be convenient to reverse the order in which the several more or less interdependent aims have been set out. Take 'culture' first. The Nazi propagandists are very fond of referring to 'German culture' and advertising

its superiority over other types of culture or cosmopolitan culture. 'German Nordic culture', says the Reichsminister of Education, 'will cover the world, will sweep all before it.'¹²² But when the Nazis talk among themselves, without an eye to the foreigner, then their attitude towards culture of any kind is just one of contempt, or worse. Hitler himself thinks that only people with 'sparrow brains' have any respect for good manners. As to the other high Nazi officials, how can one associate the word 'culture' with fellows like the Deputy *Führer* Hess, 'an overgrown schoolboy of low mentality', the 'dope-fiend' Goering, the 'little stinking insect' Goebbels, 'the dirty dog' Streicher, the 'perpetually drink-sodden' Ley, or 'the blood-thirsty little reptile' Himmler?¹²³ Their attitude has been expressed quite clearly by the Nazi Reichsminister for Culture. This is what he has said: 'When I hear the word culture, I push back the safety-catch of my revolver.'¹²⁴ Nazi culture is the culture of the vulture. (The Japanese commonly refer to the Germans as 'the vultures'; and the Japanese ought to know, for they are birds of a feather.) Nor is this something entirely new in German history. The officer class, who constitute the German *élite*, 'had no connexion with culture, and wanted none'. 'The landed aristocracy never reached any high intellectual and cultural level. Most of its members were ignorant, brutal, and uncultured.'¹²⁵ And the higher Civil Service had as little connexion with culture as had the army officers. Before 1914 General Falkenhayn said: 'If cultural advances reach the point where we can no longer enter upon a war with full confidence in our army, then let the devil take all your culture!'¹²⁶ In her past days Germany

had some 'scholars and gentlemen', but hardly ever 'an officer and gentleman'.

We may turn next to another of the aims of education, namely, the formation of character. This is one of the most widely acknowledged and emphasized aims of British education. Generally speaking, the imparting of knowledge and skill loom rather large in the public eye. But that is so because it is so much more difficult to influence character and to assess the effects than it is to impart knowledge and to judge its results by means of examinations of the familiar type. Still, difficulties do not absolve teachers from making the attempt, in spite of the risk that the attempt to exercise a moral influence may produce opposite effects to those aimed at. Some of the most famous names in the history of British education are those of teachers whose special gifts were not so much in the field of teaching knowledge as in the art of influencing character. There are certain foreign systems of education which leave the task of developing character entirely to home influence and general environment. Now, when we consult Nazi pronouncements on education we find that Hitler, for instance, lays great stress on the formation of character. At the first blush this looks quite promising. But when we examine what Hitler means by 'character' it turns out that what he means by it is what the civilized world calls 'a bad character'. Hitler wants to produce hard, violent, brutal characters from whom the civilized world will recoil. If the world calls them barbarians, Hitler takes it as a compliment. That is just what he wants them to be. 'We want to be barbarians,' he says. 'Let us go back to primitive life,' he adds, 'the life of savages.'¹²⁷ They have no respect for life. They shed

blood freely for sport. Humanism is rejected with contumely as a form of stupidity. And the disreputable vagabond Horst Wessell is set up as their ideal character. 'Public and private morality', says a distinguished German 'Aryan' author, 'has been deliberately destroyed, and theft and assassination have been raised to the rank of national virtues.'¹²⁸ In short, the kind of character which Nazi education has all too successfully set itself to develop in its students is a vicious character.

The appraisement of human knowledge may be considered next. According to the highest traditional views of the civilized world, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, the very search for truth, is one of the highest activities of the human mind. It adds to the intrinsic worth and joy of human life. The pursuit of knowledge is an arduous enterprise. It is not just a matter of reading books. Some people must first make the discoveries before they can be embodied in literature. Moreover, knowledge is not the same as individual, variable fancy, or speculation. It requires the co-operation of many investigators whose joint verifications of the relevant observations, and whose mutual criticisms of the explanation suggested, result in the establishment of well-founded, objective conclusions, as distinguished from merely individual fads and subjective fancies. Not everybody can directly participate in such voyages of discovery. But in a civilized community there are always many people who are sufficiently educated to appreciate the results and to have some share in the illumination given by more knowledge, and in the addition to our understanding of the world around us. Intellectual activity even at second-hand is worth while, and helps to raise the tone of a

community. Accordingly, a civilized society shows a proper respect for the pursuit of knowledge, and allows sufficient freedom and independence to qualified investigators, so that they may establish duly verified and criticized conclusions that may reasonably claim objective validity. To make assurance doubly sure, as far as is humanly possible, nearly all research in the fields of science and learning is international—the investigators belong to different nations and different countries, but they co-operate in a scientific spirit and with a sense of responsibility to mankind as a whole.

Now, what is the Nazi attitude to education in so far as it seeks to impart knowledge and to cultivate intellectual power and interest in the pursuit of it? Hitler says: 'I will have no intellectual training. Knowledge is ruin to my young men.' And again, 'We don't care a hoot about real truth.' One of his lieutenants has laid down the 'principle' that 'the value of an individual depends not on education but on blood and race'.¹²⁹ 'What is the purpose of university education?' asks the rector of the University of Frankfurt. His answer is: 'It is not objective science and learning.' One of the professors in the University of Göttingen took an early opportunity to voice Nazi sentiments by saying: 'We renounce international science. We renounce the international republic of learning. We renounce research for its own sake.'¹³⁰ 'Our task', says another Nazi spokesman, 'is to smother critical intellectualism.'¹³¹ And the Nazi philosopher in chief, not to be outdone by others, has proclaimed that 'error, illusion, and even "sin", can be true in the highest sense'¹³²—presumably in the same sense in which what civilized people call vices or crimes are Nazi 'virtues'.

The highest knowledge, in the Nazi sense, is not the fruit of careful research and co-operative verification and criticism. No. It springs ready made from Hitler's bloody head. 'The ideas of Adolf Hitler', says Reichsminister Franck, 'contain the final truths of all possible scientific knowledge.'¹³³ Hitler, however, only 'thinks with his blood'. He has no decent ideas. His basic obsession is based on what little he remembers of the organization of the Catholic Church in which he was reared, and which he has imitated in his own perverse way—with Satan for his God, himself as Pope and oracle, his Storm Troopers and Black Guards as his Order of Jesuits, the Gestapo as his Holy Inquisition, and the 'quiet, well-mannered, blood-thirsty little reptile' Himmler, as his Grand Inquisitor, the new Torquemada. What scope can there be for free inquiry, for real knowledge under such a regime? No, knowledge is not one of the aims of higher education in present-day Germany, any more than is culture or character.

Lastly, we must ask: Does Nazi education at least seek to prepare students to become decent and competent members of some profession or vocation, with a view to earning an honest livelihood? The answer is definitely No. A Nazi professor has announced categorically that a Nazi student 'sees the goal of his studies not in achieving success at an examination, not in qualifying for a profession, but in the fight to shape the destiny of his race',¹³⁴ that is, as a serf to Hitler. The Nazi chiefs are not interested in the livelihood of the students, not even in their life, except as potential tools for the execution of their brutal political plans. At a Party rally held in Nürnberg in 1937, the students

were addressed by their official leader, Dr. Scheel, in these terms : ' German students, it is not necessary that you should live ; but it is necessary that you should fulfil your duty to your race,' ¹³⁵ that is, really to Hitler and his gang. The Nazis have no respect for the civilian or for civil life. Hitler and his associates have all been failures and misfits in civil life. Like scum they came to the top when German passions were heated to boiling-point by their criminal agitation, aided by the agitation of numerous other jingos less crafty than Hitler. So the attention of the Nazis is always focused on battle ; and they take no interest in others except as potential recruits to their fighting ranks, or as producers of the materials necessary for the warriors. In other words, the sole purpose of higher education as directed by the Nazis is to produce Nazis and Nazi serfs. The study of science and technology is permitted so far, but only so far, as it is indispensable for the training of technicians required for modern warfare ; and other studies are tolerated only to the extent that they can be exploited in the service of propaganda, which is also treated as a cunning instrument of war. Neither science nor art, neither learning nor even life itself, is valued for its intrinsic worth, but merely as an aid to aggression. ' Make a dog a dictator', says a Spanish proverb, ' and soon everybody will snarl.' ' There must be no more civilians in Germany. Every individual must be infected with the monomania of war, which must so fill each member of the nation as to leave room for nothing else, becoming his great passion, his sole pleasure, his vice, his sport.' ¹³⁶

CHAPTER VII

NAZI SCIENCE AND LEARNING

IN every German university and technical college there is a 'Teachers' Leader'. He is the mouthpiece of the Nazi Party, and his principal function is to make sure that 'the scientific or other academic work of each teacher is carried out in the spirit of National Socialism'.¹³⁷ Hitler has decreed that 'when the State or Party favours a certain view, that view must be accepted as a scientific axiom'. 'Scientific views', according to this eminent authority, 'are just the private views of scientists, and of no interest.'¹³⁸ And the Minister of Education has assured him that 'the German scientist is prepared to sacrifice his entire freedom in the service of the (German) race and State'.¹³⁹ Hitler's views, we are assured, are not private views like those of mere scientists. 'Hitler has received his authority from God.'¹⁴⁰ 'Hitler's word is God's law.'¹⁴¹ Every scientist or scholar is just 'an intellectual soldier of the Führer'.¹⁴² In 1898 Kuno Franck wrote that 'absence of constraint in scientific inquiry and religious conduct is the very palladium of German freedom'.¹⁴³ But now everything is subordinated to Nazi aims. Science and scholarship are mere handmaids of Nazi fanaticism. Teachers are watched by Nazi and Gestapo officials. They are also liable to be denounced by colleagues who curry favour with the powers that be. Here is a specimen of this sort of academic treachery. Speaking in Heidelberg in December 1935, Professor J. Stark said: 'Fifteen

years ago when relativity was made high goddess of science . . . Lenard pronounced boldly against this general madness and described the theory as nonsense. His brave attack at a Congress at Nauheim in 1920 will always be remembered as honourable to him, just as it is disgraceful to Professor Planck that he has served as Einstein's lieutenant. . . . There are in Germany even now adherents of Einstein who continue to work in his spirit. His main supporter, Planck, still retains his position at the head of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society. His interpreter and friend, von Laue, is still allowed to play a part as expert in physics in the Berlin Academy of Science. The theoretical formalist, Heisenberg, who works in the very spirit of Einstein, is actually to be honoured by a call to a university chair.' ¹⁴⁴

Under the pressure of such evil forces, science and learning, as pursued in German universities and technical colleges, have become nazified. The nazification has assumed different forms according to the nature of the different branches of study. Some have been completely perverted and turned into barefaced tools of Nazi propaganda. Others have been subjected to a process of tendentious selection. Lastly, those sciences, especially applied or technical sciences, which could not be distorted without danger to the war-machine (since even Hitler cannot alter the laws of Nature) have been supplemented by courses intended to make sure that the students should be indoctrinated with Nazi dogma, and filled with Nazi fanaticism. The Nazis are fully aware of the differences between their way and the normal way of pursuing science and learning. And they flaunt the difference by speaking of 'German' physics, mathematics, etc. As in the expression 'German measles',

the word 'German' has come to suggest something spurious and nasty. In the pages which follow, we propose to present examples of what is being taught in German universities in connexion with some departments of science and learning. We may begin with certain studies which lay bare the foundations of Nazi ideology.

GERMAN RACIALISM

The worth of human beings depends entirely on the type of race to which they belong, of which they are members or 'limbs'; and differences of race are constituted by differences of blood. Membership of a certain race or 'folk' means being 'embedded in the stream of common blood'.¹⁴⁵ There are many different races of men, and their differences are ultimate or fundamental. The main races of mankind are the Nordic, the Alpine (or 'Ostic'), the Mediterranean (or 'Westic'), the Celt, the Slav, the Semite, the Syrian, the Negro, etc. Of all these races, the Nordic is the highest. The quintessential section of the Nordics is the Teutonic race. Of the Teutonic race the Aryans are the most important. And of the Aryans the Germans are the flower. It does not matter whether Germans are described as Nordic or Teutonic or Aryan—they are all three, and the crown of creation. The German is higher above the lowest race of men, than these are above the highest apes. In fact, 'compared with the Teutons, all other men are but animals which are a coarse imitation of man's outward form'.¹⁴⁶ 'The Nordic lives in God. He feels himself to be God. In his feeling and his will he is God himself.'¹⁴⁷

'Every manifestation of human culture, every product

of art, science, and technical skill . . . is almost exclusively the product of the creative Aryan race.' Germany is the 'mother of all the life which has given cultural shape to the world of to-day'.¹⁴⁸ 'Everything that we to-day call science is the result of German creative forces.' Scientific knowledge 'is the German's very own, for it has been chiefly achieved by Nordics'.¹⁴⁹ 'The Germans possessed a fine culture when Greek culture was in its infancy, and Rome was not even founded.'¹⁵⁰ 'Germany is the born claimant for leadership, and all European monarchs are of German descent.'¹⁵¹ Christ was an Aryan, and should be portrayed as blond and blue-eyed. For 'Galilee was an Aryan province, the mother of Christ was a Greek woman, his father an Aryan'.¹⁵² 'All the gifted Popes and the leaders of the French Revolution were Teutons.' 'The Catholic navigators who carried the faith into remote corners of the earth were all "Romanized Teutons"'.¹⁵³ 'Almost all the great men of Italy, whether in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, or in modern times, have German names . . . and beyond all doubt . . . are descended from Germans.'¹⁵⁴ 'Everything great in French and Italian art goes back to tribes with Teutonic blood.'¹⁵⁵ 'The great Frenchmen like Lafayette, Voltaire, Rousseau, Madame de Stael, Montaigne, and Victor Hugo were all of the Germanic race.'¹⁵⁶ Real 'Italians are half-Jews as regards descent and almost complete Jews in character'.¹⁵⁷ 'The Latin race is a worn-out race.'¹⁵⁸ 'The French are only a people of apes. The Celtic race, as seen in Ireland and France, have always manifested the bestial instinct.'¹⁵⁹ France is 'the harlot among the peoples'.¹⁶⁰ As regards the English, 'the Judas among the nations', they are

only half Teutonic. 'The Teutons have valour and cunning; Englishmen are half-Teutonic but wholly cunning.' Anyway 'John Bull is in his dotage'.¹⁶¹ 'In the days of discoveries the English discovered nothing, in the days of inventions they invented nothing. But they understood how to plough with others' oxen, and their sole distinction is their avarice.' They are 'barbarous highwaymen and world pirates in the hypocritical cloak of Christianity'.¹⁶² 'The Russians are half-animals.' 'The Japanese are apes and hyaenas . . . far from being fully human.'¹⁶³ 'The Americans are 'neither a real nation nor a real State', but 'a population of trappers, drifting from town to town in their dollar-hunt, unscrupulous and dissolute'.¹⁶⁴ 'Poles, Czechs, etc. . . . are as impotent as they are worthless.'¹⁶⁵ In short, the Germans are incomparably superior to all other peoples, nations, or races.

There are, however, some difficulties in the way of these racial theories. The Germans are not a pure race, but rather mixed. Of course they are not such mongrels as the Jews, for instance, but still they are mongrels to some extent. The great Bismarck, for example, has stated that 'the Prussian is a powerful blend of Slav and German elements'.¹⁶⁶ The frequency of Slav names among Germans, even in the German aristocracy, is significant. And the Southern and Western Germans are known to have a Latin admixture. Indeed the greatest of all Germans, Hitler himself, whose authority derives from God and has replaced that of the Bible, has asserted that 'unfortunately our German people no longer has a homogeneous race as basis', and that 'the fusion of the original elements has not made such progress that one can speak of a new race born of this fusion'.¹⁶⁷

Nevertheless, by careful methods of mating and breeding, following the methods of selection practised by dog and cattle breeders, it will be possible to reproduce, in course of time, a purely Germanic-Nordic-Teutonic-Aryan race. Moreover, 'even if there happened to be no proof of the existence of an Aryan race in the past, we want one to exist in the future, which is the essential thing with men of action',¹⁶⁸ who are not deterred by scientific, moral, or any other considerations. There are also certain other difficulties of a minor character. By an unfortunate trick of fate, the Nazi leaders including the Führer himself, do not exactly possess the physical features commonly regarded as typical of the Nordic race. Yet they are the cream of the Germans, just as the Germans are the cream of all the races and nations of mankind. But the loyal German need not worry about this trick of fate. The fact is that racial differences are not always obvious to the untrained eye. 'Blond' Nordic souls may inhabit swarthy bodies; and 'a Nordic exterior can hide a non-Nordic soul',¹⁶⁹ But the Nazi leaders are divinely endowed with the necessary powers of discrimination. So it can be left to them to decide who is and who is not Aryan or Nordic, etc.

In addition to the racial distinctions already explained, there is yet another which has to be made, namely, that between primary, or first-rate, races and secondary, or second-rate, races. This classification may appear at first to suggest a mere grouping or regrouping of the above-mentioned types. The Nordics, Teutons, Aryans, and Germans, might, for instance, be grouped as primary races, and the Alpines, Mediterraneans, etc. as secondary races. That, however, is not the main purpose of this further classification. It is intended chiefly to cut across

the other classification. Within one and the same race, in the sense of Nordic, Teutonic, etc. there are to be found two distinct types, namely, the leaders and the followers, the first-rate people and the second-rate people, an upper class and a lower class, the aristocrats and the common people. The military caste is at the top, the workers are at the bottom, and the agriculturalists are somewhere betwixt and between, constituting a link between 'blood and soil', and so of use sometimes to invigorate the blood of the ruling class. The primary race is 'above good and evil'. It has no morals, and 'needs no justification'. It is characterized by proud insolence, an 'acquiescence in the damnation of the many' too many, and 'the renunciation of all efforts to make the world better'. The secondary race clings to 'morals', 'laws', 'rights', 'justice', 'charity', 'education', 'truth', and 'other disgraceful democratic contrivances', and, like Socrates, is so vulgar as to ask the nobles, Why? ¹⁷⁰ There is consequently a 'class-war "from above" waged by the masters against the insurgent mob'. The lower class is that condemned to 'definite bondage and everlasting inferiority, in obedience to a hierarchical structure of domination and subservience'. Their appeal to God, humaneness, justice, equality, etc. is sheer nonsense. God 'does not care at all about humaneness or injustice. He prefers violence and bloodshed.' 'A genuine Deity wants man to be sacrificed to it.' 'Christianity is an emphatically aristocratic creed, free of morals, unteachable.' Christian love 'is the one that illumines the pagan temples, and bears no relation to the Jewish inventions of the so-called love of mankind or love of one's neighbour'. The totalitarian state 'is avowedly a servile state, a community built on

strict political inequality'.¹⁷¹ National Socialism is something totally different from the common sort of Socialism. It is really a revival of the good old German feudalism with Nazi leaders in place of barons and priests. The big industrial employers are rulers, members of the primary race, and must be obeyed, not challenged or questioned, by the workers. 'It is absurd that workers should interfere with the management of economic affairs,' says the Führer. 'The entrepreneur carries responsibility, and provides the workers with bread. They have no claim to a share in the property.'¹⁷² The German worker, however, has his compensations. Though he must not claim to be 'endowed with the same humanity' as is 'a German Prince of Royal Blood',¹⁷³ yet as a citizen of the great Reich even a German scavenger is superior to a king of any other country,¹⁷⁴ in spite of the fact that all foreign kings are of German descent!

The foregoing sketch of the German doctrines of race as taught at the German universities may convey some idea of the blasphemy, bombast, and blather of the fanatics who teach them. It may be useful now to indicate briefly their scientific value.

There is no scientific justification for the view that mankind ultimately consists of more than one biological species. The known varieties of human beings are not due to fundamental 'racial' differences but to differences of physical and social environment, including climate and education. The alleged differences in 'blood' at the basis of the so-called racial differences are mere fictions, and the idea of 'blood kinship' belongs to folk-lore, not to scientific biology. No blood ever passes from parent to offspring. The contention that membership of a

'folk' or nation or 'race' consists in being 'embedded in the stream of common blood' is sheer nonsense. If it had been true, how could the Nazi professors explain that even among Germans some are 'primary' and others only 'secondary' although all are 'embedded in the (same) stream of common blood' and blood is everything? In any case there are no fundamentally different races. Even if the term 'race' is used in a looser and vaguer sense, no pure races are known, all the peoples or nations are mixtures of many component elements or tribes. Even Hitler has admitted that the Germans are mongrels. In brief, to quote the words of Nietzsche, who is frequently claimed by the Nazis as one of their patron saints, German pride of blood is a 'mendacious race swindle'. 'It is a cloak for selfish economic aims which in their uncloaked nakedness would look ugly enough.'¹⁷⁵ And 'the moral man', as Professor Croce rightly insists, 'has the duty of always defying what is often called "race" prejudice, to fight it incessantly, and continually re-establish the consciousness of a single humanity.'¹⁷⁶

The racial application of the term 'Aryan' has been repeatedly repudiated by the very scholar, Professor Max Müller, who is mainly responsible for the wide currency of that term. 'I have declared again and again that if I say Aryans, I mean neither blood nor bone, nor hair nor skull; I mean simply those who speak an Aryan language. . . . An ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar.'¹⁷⁷

The extravagant claims made on behalf of the Nordic contributions to civilization and culture are without

foundation. 'The fundamental discoveries on which civilization is built are the art of writing, agriculture, the wheel, and building in stone. All these originated in the Near East' among non-Nordic peoples. 'The early great civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and north-west India were developed by non-Aryan-speaking peoples.' According to Aristotle 'the Nordic barbarians were inherently incapable of rising to the level of Greek achievements'.¹⁷⁸ It is difficult to point to any basic element of culture, except perhaps the domestication of the horse, that was originated by the Nordics or their proto-Nordic predecessors. At their first onsets they partially destroyed or inhibited local cultures, and then they absorbed them.¹⁷⁹ 'Soon after 500 B.C. Nordic people settled in the Norwegian fjords and began that phase of piracy for which, as "Vikings", they became notorious.'¹⁸⁰ 'The greatest achievements of modern civilization have occurred in regions of the greatest admixture of types.'¹⁸¹

The Nazi claim that all European monarchs are of German descent contains some truth, but really signifies little. Until comparatively recently Germany consisted of a great many independent States, each with its own royal house. The result was an incomparably larger output of princes and princesses than any other country could boast of. Thanks to the prevailing dislike of morganatic marriages even in democratic countries, Germany offered the largest marriage market for foreign princesses and princes. And Germany made full use of this export trade. The royal marriage partners supplied varied enormously in character—from Prince Albert the Good to Catherine the Great, 'the Prussian Princess with the morals of a street-walker'.¹⁸² Anyway, even

in Germany kings ceased to be of any great advantage long before they ceased to be altogether.

The credit which Germany claims for the achievements in science, art, and culture in other countries as well as in Germany is based on little more than audacious mendacity. It would take us too far afield to discuss the matter adequately. By way of a partial corrective, by a German, the following remark by Nietzsche may serve our purpose: 'The few cases of high education I have found in Germany are all of French origin.'¹⁸³

There are some distinctions which Hitler could have claimed for Germany, but did not. They are worth noting. Even before the Nazis took over the reins of government the rate of illegitimacy in Germany was about three times as high as that in England; the rate of suicide was twice as high; and the rate of homicide was four times as great.¹⁸⁴ These rates must have increased enormously since the Nazi drive for a vast increase of population, for guns before butter, and the elimination of non-Nazis—all in order to conquer the world.

The Nazi contention that the Americans are not a nation is sufficiently refuted in the following statement by Professor Carr-Saunders: 'It would not be possible', he writes, 'to find a better example of what we mean by a nation than the United States. Americans have ways, customs, and manners, quite as distinct as English, French, or German ways. Their approach to, and outlook upon, matters of daily concern are peculiar to them, and in this field they differ more from any European nation than European nations differ from one another. All these characteristics are very uniformly spread over the whole country; Americans are very conscious and proud of them. There is no more instruc-

tive or interesting experience than to watch the development of the American-born children of foreign-born immigrants. The children vie with one another in casting off all traces of foreign influence; they throw off all their old clothes, so to speak, and hasten to put on full American dress.'¹⁸⁵ The Nazi idea of a nation stipulates 'a common error as to its origin and a common aversion to its neighbours'. This is what has made German nationalism such a plague.

The remaining calumnies indulged in by Nazi racialists are 'not worth refutation—scorn is enough'.

Notwithstanding the fervour with which the Nazi professors expound the racial theories outlined above, they do not really believe in their truth. Nazis do not care about truth of any kind. All they are concerned about is to carry out a certain political and military programme with which they are obsessed. And the sole purpose of these racial fictions is to produce a certain impression on the ignorant and uncritical young Germans so as to fire them with enthusiasm for the execution of the Nazi plans of aggression and exploitation. They fill them with gas to make them explode.

Precisely the same method and the same motive characterize the Nazi teaching of history, which may be briefly described now.

HISTORY TEACHING IN NAZI GERMANY

It is not altogether unknown even in countries outside Germany that some professors of history are more interested in shaping the future than in describing the past, and that wittingly or unwittingly their interpretation of past history is used or abused by them as a

means of moulding the future. But nowhere is this kind of abuse so common and so rampant as in Nazi Germany. Even in pre-Nazi days German historians were rather notorious for this sort of thing. Professor Treitschke, for example, was the most popular teacher of history in his day. His popularity has been explained by his biographer. 'He loved and worshipped war, and hated peace,'¹⁸⁶ and his university lectures were just an eloquent incitement to Prussian militarism and to war. Nietzsche's comment on him has been quoted above (p. 52). As early as 1866 O. Klopp, the historian, wrote that 'nine-tenths of German historical writing is steeped in the Prussian spirit . . . a spirit of lying, falsification, and aggression'.¹⁸⁷ Since the beginning of the Nazi régime what used to be an occasional abuse has become the invariable practice, and has been so intensified as to be revolting.¹⁸⁸ Hitler has given his orders; and 'orders is orders'. Hitler's idea of teaching history is shown in his utterance about the teaching of the earliest beginnings of German history. 'We don't care a hoot about the real truth concerning the pre-history of the German tribes. . . . The only thing that matters is to have ideas that strengthen national pride. . . . Pre-history is the doctrine of the eminence of the Germans at the dawn of civilization.'¹⁸⁹

Dr. W. Frick, the former Nazi Minister for Home Affairs, has laid down a fifteen-point programme for the teaching of history in the spirit of Hitler. The following summary should make the policy and the motive sufficiently clear :¹⁹⁰

1. Pre-history must show the high civilization of the early Germans.

2. The study of the primitive race must show the greatness of German peoples and persons.
3. Racialism and nationalism must be set in opposition to international ideals.
4. The role of the Germans dispersed throughout the world.
5. The role of political history.
6. The role of the idea of heroism, and the idea of a chief or leader.
7. The role of the heroic ideal is peculiar to the Germans, because they have always been encircled by enemies.
8. The role of the migrations of people which determined the history of the German race and secured the preponderance of Indo-Germanic languages.
9. The role of Germanic migrations into Asia and Africa, which account for the excellence of Egyptian and Sumerian civilization.
10. The role of the Mixture of Races, and its disastrous results.
11. The role of the ancient Greeks, the brothers of the German race, but outnumbered by inferior democratic races.
12. The role of Germanic migration to Italy, France, Spain, and England, which accounts for their superiority to Russia and the Balkans.
13. The role of the conquest of the territory east of the Elbe.
14. The role of modern history, which shows how Germany lost the consciousness of her greatness, because she was ignorant of the laws of blood.

15. The role of the last twenty years, when Germany, after being nearly ruined by liberalism and Marxism, rose heroically through National Socialism.

The fifteen points in Dr. Frick's programme are so many instructions to fake history in the interests of the Nazis and to stimulate the execution of their plans of world-wide aggression. Needless to say, Nazi historians have no compunction about exploiting such notorious forgeries as *The Chronicle of Ura Linda*, in order to glorify the early Germans, or *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, in order to excite hatred against the Jews. Some other flagrant examples of their falsification of history have been given already in the preceding pages. 'The old absolutist régimes', says Croce, 'provided their schools with edifying little potted histories : similar régimes to-day imitate them, and find docile pens ready for the same undertaking. The process . . . only serves to fashion fanatics or hypocrites or men of slight inner substance who change with every wind. Free régimes . . . disdain this so-called education, which is no education at all, and to which the word "training" should be applied, such as is practised with horses, dogs, and other animals.'¹⁹¹ Literary critics have generally formed a low estimate of German fiction as a whole. They may have overlooked the fact that German history, including German 'philosophy of history', is the highest form of German fiction. It would have been amusing enough if it had been innocent fiction, but it is a shameless fraud deliberately intended to stimulate economic, political, and military brigandage of unparalleled ruthlessness.

PRAGMATIC FICTIONISM

Nazi racialism and history are admittedly mythological or fictitious. What the Nazis are after is not a true ethnology or true history but 'myths' which may be practically useful for the realization of their malign plans. The widespread acceptance of such 'myths' has been considerably facilitated by the popularization, among superficial readers, of certain sceptical views of the nature of human knowledge. The view known as pragmatism lays stress on the merely *practical* significance of human beliefs. It maintains that all one can say about the generally accepted beliefs, and even scientific views, is that they 'work' satisfactorily, not that they strictly correspond to objective reality. Pragmatism originated in America; and the Nazis quickly copied American pragmatism just as they copied American gangsterism. Moreover, German philosophers also developed an even more exaggerated form of scepticism known as the 'Philosophy of As If' or the Philosophy of Fictions. The leading exponent of this view was Hans Vaihinger, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Halle, who set out from certain features in the philosophies of Kant and of Nietzsche. According to Vaihinger, all human beliefs, including scientific views, are of the nature of fiction. For example, the scientific conception that all material bodies are composed of atoms, means no more than that material bodies behave 'as if' they were composed of atoms, not that they actually *are* composed of them, since atoms have never been observed. This is not really the view of either physicists or chemists. But the Nazis seized upon

this highly speculative theory with alacrity, and have tried to persuade their gullible countrymen that their fictitious racialism and equally fictitious history are entirely 'scientific'. Perhaps philosophers are not always sufficiently on their guard against the possible abuse of their speculations by fools and felons. In pre-Nazi days books on philosophy had a much larger reading public in Germany than in any other country, and the uncritical assimilation of sceptical or nihilistic 'philosophies' may have done much to undermine the moral convictions of many Germans, and so prepared them for Nazi ideology with the most immoral 'morale' outside Japan. It is very unlikely, however, that the absence of a plausible philosophy from their armoury would have deterred the Nazis from their political adventures. After all, their ideology or philosophy is for them only a matter of window-dressing. The real drive comes from their lust for power and exploitation. Moreover, Hitler has borrowed so much from the Catholic Church that it may be reasonably supposed he has also learned something about 'pragmatic fictionism' from the same source. The name is new, but the idea is old, and was adequately expressed in the remark attributed to Pope Leo X: 'What profit has not the fable of Christ brought to us!' ¹⁹² Nazi 'myths' are essentially profitable fables.

We may now turn to the consideration of certain other academic studies which reveal still more explicitly the political aims and ambitions of Nazi Germany.

CHAPTER VIII

SCHEMING AND TRAINING FOR WORLD-CONQUEST

GEOPOLITICS

AT the various universities and colleges in Germany there are numerous courses of study under such designations as 'Living Space', 'Regional Studies', 'Geopolitics', etc. Ostensibly these courses deal with Economic, Historical, and Political Geography, with special reference to Germany and German requirements. In reality they are mainly concerned with German schemes for the exploitation not only of all Europe but of the whole world for the sole benefit of the 'Master-folk'. The following outline deals chiefly with these designs and with the 'arguments' by which the Nazi professors and other writers endeavour to make their claims look plausible, at least to Germans.

Germany has a population density of 135 per square kilometre, whereas the British Empire and U.S.A. have a population density of barely 15 per square kilometre, France 9, Russia 8, and many other countries have even smaller population densities. There are millions of Germans settled in foreign countries, and helping to develop and enrich them, instead of aiding their Fatherland, as they would do if Germany were as large as it should be. Moreover, Germany is not self-sufficient economically, and has to import many commodities from foreign countries. It is no good

saying that no hindrances are put to the purchase and import of such foreign commodities in normal times. Germany must be self-sufficient at all times, even, and especially, in war-time. But for the blockade by the British, American, and French navies, the Germans would not have lost the first World War. In any case, dependence on imports from abroad means 'dependence upon the greater or lesser goodwill of foreign Powers', and this is 'simply intolerable' for Germany.¹⁹³ Nor is it of any consequence to say that the Germans settled in other countries are treated well and enjoy all 'minority rights'. 'What does it matter whether we Germans are a "minority" or a "majority"?' What is the use of this statistical gibberish? Minority or majority, we are *Germans*, and being Germans we are the foremost. Were only two Germans to live in all Poland, still, just by being Germans, they would be more than all the millions of Poles.'¹⁹⁴

Germany will not be a sufficiently large and economically self-sufficient 'biological unit' until 'it is Europe as well'.¹⁹⁵ 'If the Urals with their incalculable wealth of raw materials, the rich forests of Siberia, and the unending cornfields of the Ukraine lay within Germany, under National Socialist leadership the country would swim in plenty.'¹⁹⁶ And Germany would have had all this, and more, already in 1918, by the Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, if the envious British and Americans had not interfered to rob her of the fruits of her hard-won victories in the field. But neither the British nor any other people can be allowed to resist German hegemony over Europe. 'The defeat of Germany was only victory postponed.'¹⁹⁷ 'One nation in Europe must assert its authority over

NEERING INDUSTRIES
AND INDUSTRIES
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the others. . . . Only the German nation can be the agent of the new Imperialism. . . . We demand the *Imperium*. . . . It must be taken by force. . . . Look at a marching troop of German youths, and realize what God has made them for. They are warriors by nature, and their calling is to rule.' ¹⁹⁸ Germans 'are morally and intellectually superior to all others : without equal'. 'The whole world must work for Germany. . . . That is her national destiny.' ¹⁹⁹

A 'New Order' will be created in Europe and then in the rest of the world. 'Only the German people is called to rule the earth.' ²⁰⁰ 'We must create . . . a world Empire under German hegemony.' ²⁰¹ When Germany rules Europe, and then the world, she will secure 'autarky', self-sufficiency, such as she needs and is entitled to. In order to secure it several things are necessary. First, the irresistible armies of Germany must conquer the different countries, as they are doing now. Secondly, these conquered countries must be depopulated, to provide ample living-space for Germans. Thirdly, such parts of the population of the vanquished regions as are allowed to survive must be put to work for the German people. 'We are obliged to depopulate as part of our mission of preserving the German population. We shall have to develop a technique of depopulation . . . the removal of entire racial units. . . . Natural instincts bid all living beings not merely to conquer their enemies, but also to destroy them.' ²⁰² 'It would be decidedly the simplest thing if the expansion of the Germans could be balanced by the extinction of the non-Germans.' ²⁰³ This is precisely what is being done in German-occupied countries. More will follow. Let nobody talk about mercy, or

respect for life, or any such Jewish inventions. 'Never would the Führer concede to other nations equal rights with the Germans,' whose task it is 'to place other nations in subjection', and 'to give the world a new aristocracy'.²⁰⁴ 'The foreigner, the stranger, is not a fellow-man for the horde, the tribe, he is a cause for superstitious shudder and abhorrence.' German 'national honour' demands a 'mystical feeling of the exclusive right of our own tribe to live, combined with the abhorrence of the stranger'.²⁰⁵

The accumulated wealth of other countries will be taken over by Germany. Their surviving populations will have to adapt their economy to the interests of the German people. Their main industry will be agriculture; and even that work will have to be carried out without the aid of agricultural machinery. They will thus be kept fully occupied, and have no time to think.²⁰⁶ Since 'a lower race needs less food, less clothes',²⁰⁷ the conquered countries will be in a position to send ample supplies to Germany and help the German people to maintain a higher standard of living. Germany will also draw supplies from Africa and the other continents. By such methods of expansion and spoliation even the 'second-rate' German workers will be able to live 'not packed like coolies in the factories of another continent, but as tillers of the soil and workers whose labour will be a mutual assurance for their existence'.²⁰⁸ And beneath the lowest German class 'there will still be the class of subject alien races; we need not hesitate to call them the modern slave class'.²⁰⁹ All higher industries will be the monopoly of Germany. This is in accord with the greater abilities of the 'Master-folk', and is also required on grounds of security—no other

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people can be allowed to have the means of manufacturing armaments wherewith to resist their German masters.²¹⁰ However, the enslaved peoples of the conquered countries will have their compensations: they will have constant employment, and they will enjoy 'the blessings of illiteracy'.²¹¹

To accomplish these great aims, the Führer felt that his first task was 'to create a nucleus of a hundred million colonizing Germans' who would assure to Germany 'once for all the decisive ascendancy over all the European nations' and eventually 'the German mastery of the world'.²¹² In order to encourage the required increase of the German population marriage loans up to 1000 marks per couple were offered. This, however, failed to achieve the purpose intended. So Herr Himmler, chief of the Gestapo, now Reichsminister for Home Affairs, has appealed to young Germans on somewhat different lines, with his renowned forcefulness. He has brushed aside not only marriage loans but even marriage itself. 'Pure-blooded German girls', he has authoritatively declared, 'have a war duty that is not concerned with wedlock. This duty is to become a mother by a soldier off to the front.' Offers in this sense may be seen advertised in the German press.²¹³ And the children of such patriotic 'vestal virgins' are honourably distinguished as 'State children'. In this and in other ways it is hoped to reach the population target set up by the Führer, namely, a population of two hundred and fifty million Germans as soon as possible.²¹⁴ And in preparation for such an increase in the numbers of the supreme race, millions of inferior non-Germans are already being wiped out in Poland, Russia, and other parts of Europe. The present generation of non-

Germans must die in millions so that future generations of the 'Master-folk' may have ample living-space.

A few words of comment on the above doctrines may be added here. The assertion that Germany has an exceptional population density is not true. It is made plausible by including in the living-space of other countries colonial areas, large portions of which are uninhabitable by white men. Actually the population density of the United Kingdom is 195 per square kilometre, of Italy 141, of Holland 247, of Belgium 274, against Germany's 135. Moreover, when it suited him to do so, Hitler boasted that Germany 'is rich in population and rich enough in all resources to ensure the feeding of her people from her limited space, and to produce industrial raw materials to a considerable extent'. Germany produces 83 per cent of the foodstuffs she requires, as against Great Britain's 25 per cent.²¹⁵ The simultaneous demands that Germany must have more living-space for her actual population and that she must increase her population enormously in order to occupy and control a much larger part of the earth don't harmonize very well. The bed-rock fact is the Nazi determination to conquer and enslave other countries. The reasons offered are of no consequence. It is vulgar even to ask such a 'noble' Master-folk for 'reasons'. Long before the appearance of the Nazis, a German 'philosopher', Fichte, asserted that 'between States there is neither law nor right save the law of the strongest', and that the German people have 'the moral right to fulfil their destiny by every means of cunning and force'.²¹⁶ Long before Hitler's day the Germans, under General von Trotha, 'carried out a policy of floggings, forced labour, and deliberate extermination of the natives in

their African colonies'.²¹⁷ Hitler and his gang are now applying the same policy in Europe. And to make sure that Germany should be in a position to continue this policy indefinitely and over ever-increasing areas, the nation that once boasted that they were 'a people of poets and philosophers' are being deliberately educated to be 'a people of pirates and prostitutes'. The megalomania which claims for the German people the mastery of the earth and the fullness thereof may rightly be treated with contempt; but it must not be ignored. The extent to which Germans are afflicted with megalomania may be gathered from a recent pronouncement by the German Cardinals Bertram of Breslau, Faulhaber of Munich, Innitzer of Vienna, and twenty-six German archbishops and bishops, which describes the German people as having risen 'politically, economically, spiritually, and culturally to the top of the nations of the Occident'.²¹⁸ Nazi insolence is not just a sudden fit of mental aberration, but the culmination of old tendencies traceable through many centuries of German, and especially Prussian, history. Though 'might' is identified with 'right', and success is regarded as its own justification, yet defeat is never recognized by the Germans as a ground for abandoning their frenzy. Rather it is regarded as an additional reason for renewed efforts to achieve the 'deferred' victory. To cure Germany of her *delirium tremens* will require prolonged and drastic treatment.

How 'scientific' Germans respond to their education in racialism and geopolitics, etc. is only too evident now. Professor Ernst Krieck, who was rector of the University of Heidelberg, and then organized the Nazi education scheme, has laid down the principle that 'no doctor,

however well versed in the technical aspects of medical science, is a good doctor unless he first realizes and discharges his duties to the political-racial philosophy of new Germany'.²¹⁹ Now let us see how the 'good' doctors discharge these duties. 'German doctors, headed by a Professor Gepphard (formerly Professor of Pharmacology in Heidelberg), use Polish women as "guinea-pigs" for their surgical and medical experiments.' These experiments began in the Ravensbruck Concentration Camp for Women in 1942. 'They include surgical operations on the lower extremities, bones, and muscles. Some women were infected with tuberculosis and tetanus. The effects of gas on others were observed.'²²⁰ In the same year 'four hundred Jewish boys were taken from Amsterdam and used as human media to test the toxic properties of war gases. The German vampires also drained the blood from Russian babies into the veins of German wounded.' During 1943 Russian prisoners of war in Finland were used in experiments to determine how much air can be introduced into the blood, and what quantities of various narcotics human beings can stand. In the same year, at the German concentration camp in Malthauren, twenty-eight young Dutchmen were subjected to experiments in order to find out the effects of chlorine on the skin and on the lungs.²²¹ A country in which 'good' doctors and university professors do such things must surely have fathomed the lowest depths of human degradation.

OTHER EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS BY THE NAZIS

The principal innovations introduced by the Nazis into the system of German education have already been

described in the preceding pages—the complete militarization of education, the indoctrination with racial fictions, the falsification of history in order to stimulate German pugnacity, and the regional planning of the world so as to hold out the promise of enormous loot for the German warriors. In addition to these innovations there are others, mainly of a consequential character, as contributory to the building-up of the vast war-machine. They consist of new courses of study, new faculties, departments or institutes, and certain new types of schools or Nazi academies which embody Hitler's idea of higher education.

The Institute of Political Science in the University of Berlin, which had been founded soon after the first World War and used to be conducted in an academic spirit, was taken over by the Nazis shortly after they came into power. Goebbels was appointed its head, and it was transformed into a training school for political officers.²²²

A new Faculty of Foreign Political Science was started in Berlin in 1940. Franz A. Six, who had served in Himmler's police, was appointed dean of the new faculty, which is mainly concerned with the dissemination of Nazi doctrines, and with slander against other countries.²²³

In 1941 there was introduced into the University of Berlin a new Faculty for Foreign Affairs. Some 350 courses were arranged to be given in 33 languages, including African, Indian, Chinese, and Amharic. The precise relation of this faculty to the preceding one is not clear, nor its relation to the 'International Academy for Political and Administrative Science' founded in Berlin in 1942.

In 1937 Hitler laid the foundation-stone of a great building to house the new Faculty of Military Technology, a department of the Berlin Technical College. Hitler declared that 'it shall be a monument of German culture, of German knowledge, and of German strength'.²²⁴

Faculties of War Technology were instituted in several other technical colleges, in Germany, in 1941.²²⁵

In the same year a special institute was established, in Berlin, for the study of sea power, with specific reference to the relations of Germany to foreign sea powers.²²⁶

In 1939 Streicher established a chair of anti-Jewish propaganda in the University of Berlin. The new chair was filled by a Dr. Deeg, who gave a course of lectures on Jews in German legal history.²²⁷

Two years later a special institute for research into Jewish problems was opened in Frankfurt a. Main, under the directorship of a Dr. W. Grau. The library boasted a collection of 350,000 volumes, obtained mainly by confiscating the archives of the Rothschilds at Frankfurt and the library of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris.²²⁸

An institute for German law was established at the university of Bonn in 1937;²²⁹ and an academy for the same subject was instituted in the University of Munich in 1941.²³⁰ The aim of both was to put up some kind of respectable-looking façade for a system of government by arbitrary decrees issued by the Führer, and give an appearance of legality to systematic lawlessness.

Intimately connected with problems of 'German law' is the new institute of criminal biology established, in Vienna, in 1942. It appears to be part of the Gestapo organization.²³¹

An institute for race hygiene was founded in the University of Munich, in 1933, under the directorship of a Dr. Tirala, a general practitioner, without any training in anthropology. He boasts that he composed his book on *Race, Spirit, and Soul* (1935) after 'a few idle hours' of reverie—unrestrained by any scientific knowledge of the subject.²³² Lectures on race hygiene were also given in Berlin, Jena, and other universities in 1941, and earlier.²³³

Special institutes for regional planning were established in Köln in 1941, and in Berlin in 1942.²³⁴ As has already been explained, the subject is chiefly concerned with the economic exploitation of foreign countries.

An institute for Aryan medicine (called after Bombastus Paracelsus, one of the most bombastic German braggarts before Hitler) was founded by Streicher in 1941.²³⁵ It specializes in 'nature cures' and other forms of quackery. In the same year courses of lectures were introduced in several German universities on 'war diseases' and 'medicine and flying'; and an institute was established for the study of industrial therapy.²³⁶

Problems of propaganda are dealt with in courses of lectures on the press, radio, and publicity generally, in various universities, including Vienna.

The study of intercommunication, including the postal service, telegraphy, telephony, telephotography, television, and wireless transmission, is pursued in special institutes in the University of Frankfurt, and in connexion with the technical college in Darmstadt, since 1942 or earlier.

Research into substitute materials is carried out at

the technical college in Breslau where, in 1941, a new chair was created for fibre machinery,²³⁷ and in the University of Breslau, where a special institute was founded in 1942 for the chemical technology of synthetic fibres. The 'most modern' German technical college was opened at Linz, in October 1943—for war work, of course.²³⁸

Other departments perhaps worth mentioning are the faculties of building and of brewing instituted in 1941; ²³⁹ an institute for the study of insurance, established in 1942 in the University of Köln; and an institute for the science of cookery, founded in 1941, and intended to make Germans an A1 nation.²⁴⁰

HITLER SCHOLARSHIPS AND SCHOOLS

Among the numerous promises made by Hitler when he was still trying to lure followers from all classes was a promise to raise the educational level of some members of the lower classes to the level of the upper classes, for the benefit of both. He made a start in this direction in September 1933, when a college for peasants was opened at Grausee. The next step was not taken until 1937, when he inaugurated the Horst Wessel Foundation in honour of the 'white slaver', who, as has already been explained, became the Nazi National Anthem. The aim of this foundation was to prepare some of the sons of workers and peasants for a higher education. A selection was made from young men between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two. Those selected were prepared for a university by means of a preparatory course of study extending over a period of eighteen months.²⁴¹ Another essentially similar scheme, but on a larger scale,

was inaugurated in 1939 under the designation of Langemarck Foundation. The name was due to Hitler's flair for publicity and for stimulating war enthusiasm by means of faked history. Langemarck is a village in Belgium, where in November 1914 the German army, in an attempt to make up for its defeat in the Battle of the Marne, attacked the British line with regiments of inadequately trained recruits, including many students. By some blunder these recruits were shelled by the German artillery until the mistake was discovered when the student-recruits started screeching *Deutschland, Deutschland Über Alles*. The slaughter was terrible and useless. But the opportunity for propaganda was promptly seized by the Nazis. A Langemarck Day was instituted, and the first grandiose celebration was held on November 10, 1940, in Langemarck itself in the presence of Field-Marshal von Brauchitsch, Dr. Scheel, student leaders, and other Nazi stars. 'To be a German', said the Field-Marshal on that occasion, 'means to belong to a people whose destiny has always been: Forward over battlefields.' 'The decisive task of the present German youth is to conquer the Englishman.' Vows were made by those present.²⁴² The Langemarck Foundation deals with youths between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. In 1939 about 500 grants were made to selected candidates for higher education. It was proposed to increase the number of grants to several thousand in the course of a few years. In 1942 similar grants were promised for young German women, and also for Belgian and Dutch students of a certain type.²⁴³ It may be pointed out that long before the advent of the Hitler régime the Weimar republic instituted a scheme of State scholarships for the benefit of working-class youths. It is true

that the proportion of working-class students to the total number of German university students was rather less than 6 per cent in 1931; but the proportion has not been raised by the Nazis in spite of their promises and boasts.²⁴⁴

Hitler's most ambitious educational novelty consists of the so-called Hitler schools. Thirty-two Hitler schools were planned originally, and the foundation-stones of ten of them were laid in January 1938 in ten German provinces. In intimate connexion with these schools there were to be four 'Castles of the National-Socialist Order'; and finally the special Nazi Party University,²⁴⁵ or finishing school for Wagnerian heroes. Each year some 4000 boys were to be selected for admission to the Hitler schools. Here they were to be educated from the age of twelve till the age of eighteen, with everything provided for them, even pocket-money. The subjects of instruction were to be chosen by the boys themselves. There were to be no examinations, only reports on their character. On leaving the Hitler schools they were to serve in labour camps, in the army, in business, or industry until the age of twenty-five. Then they were to be considered for admission to the Castles of the National Socialist Order, into which only about 25 per cent of the Hitler school pupils were to be taken for additional training until the age of thirty. Finally, at the age of thirty the best students from the Castles of the Order were to go to the Party University at Chiamsee in the Bavarian Alps to receive the finishing touches as the *élite* of the Nazi Party.²⁴⁶ The supreme purpose of this new system of education was to be the thorough preparation of heroes who would conquer the world for Germany and administer the conquered territories.²⁴⁷

The Nazis insist that all higher education, especially university education, has for its object the training of future leaders. But they have more faith in their own educational institutions than in the old ones. Moreover, there would be a need of different kinds and grades of 'leaders'. So they have taken measures accordingly. Pending the completion of all the buildings planned in their ambitious scheme, an academy in Brunswick appears to be used for the training of youth leaders; a special department at the University of Marburg devotes itself to the training of future 'leaders' of Great Britain; and a special faculty of the University of Berlin is training 'leaders' for all the Americas. It appears that each county of the United Kingdom is to have the benefit of a separate 'leader', so is each of the American States. The director of the Berlin Department for training American 'leaders' is a certain Professor Friedrich Schoeneman, who was at one time lecturer in the University of Harvard.

The educational worth of Hitler's various 'leadership' training institutions may be judged from the fact that when some of the students between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-six were examined by the Army educational authorities in 1941, the verdict given was that nearly all of them were 'morally unsatisfactory, undisciplined, untrustworthy, and not sufficiently educated'.²⁴⁸ But, if one may risk a guess based on our knowledge of Hitler's own past, he probably just shrugged his shoulders at the antiquated moral and intellectual prejudices of the Army examiners.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

IN an astonishingly short time the Nazis have succeeded in changing education, 'the grandest thing in the world', into a terrible instrument of evil, from which mankind has already suffered much, and may yet suffer more. The account given in these pages of what the Nazis have made of higher education in Germany must make one realize the enormous difficulties of the task of re-educating the Germans. Hitler's rapid success in the field of 'education' was largely the result of certain tendencies in German character. Some good Germans as well as many bad ones have stressed the existence of strong pugnacious tendencies in German people from their early youth; and German education, so far from attempting a timely cure or mitigation of these tendencies, has nearly always done all it could to stimulate them. The task of reforming German character, after victory has been won and justice has been done, cannot look very promising even to the most sanguine optimists. It is clearly a long-term enterprise. It is a problem, moreover, involving economic, political, and military as well as purely educational measures. An adequate discussion of it is consequently beyond the modest ambit of this monograph. There are, however, some points which call for special attention in the light of certain facts set forth in the preceding pages.

It is obviously imperative to take every precaution against the admission into universities and university

institutions of people who are not genuine students but political agitators, whether they belong to the right or the left. There may be some justification for the view that those who have had the advantage of a sound university education should take a special part in the economic, social, and political progress of their country; but it is a grave danger to admit into the universities people who do not aspire to a sound education but only to a cheap claim to leadership. Study and tolerant discussions and debates are one thing, and deserve encouragement. Violent agitation and intolerance are quite another thing, and should be firmly suppressed.

Even genuine students must be carefully selected, and their number should be restricted according to the country's likely requirements. The encouragement of well-meaning but academically unsuitable people, and a superfluity of even fairly competent students whom the professions, etc. cannot absorb, lead to the creation of an 'academic proletariat', who provide the most dangerous political agitators and incendiaries. The 'glamour' of academic life is largely illusory, and only too frequently lures to their undoing young people who would be much happier and more genuinely successful in other walks of life.

These dangers are abundantly illustrated in the history of German universities during the years following the first World War. They should serve as a warning also to other countries. Wise people learn their lesson from the experience of others, and do not wait to learn it from their own.

The need of careful selection applies to the appointment of teachers at least as much as to the admission of students. The evil influence of opportunists and reactionaries

in the ranks of German professors is now obvious. Even democratic countries are not entirely free from this source of contamination. No doubt it is less in democratic countries than in Germany—'the little less, and what worlds away!' But it would be dangerously foolish to ignore the fact that there are fascist and reactionary teachers in the professoriate of even British universities; and that the people who are mainly responsible for making or recommending academic appointments are much more on their guard against 'left' candidates than against reactionaries. It would be amusing if it were not so disturbing to note how fascist and intolerant some of the well-known teachers of history, science, and philosophy have been.

The crux of the matter is that the good influence of higher education has been grossly exaggerated. The case of Germany may serve as an alarming warning. For a long time Germany was regarded by many as the best-educated country in the world. Yet the Germans as a whole have easily surpassed the Huns in every form of crime. Evidently the study of the 'humanities' has not made them humane; the pursuit of science has not made them impartial and objective; and the cultivation of philosophy has not taught them to take things philosophically—to see things *sub specie aeternitatis*. Perhaps all this is not so surprising, when it is remembered that education is commonly identified with the communication or acquisition of knowledge, and that knowledge is for the most part treated as an instrument. Like every other instrument, or form of power, knowledge can be used for evil as well as for good; and the greater the knowledge of the criminal, the greater will be his crimes. Knowledge, of course, has an intrinsic interest

as well as an instrumental value. But it is unfortunately a fact that knowledge does not of itself improve character or impart any genuine wisdom of life. And any system of education that confines itself entirely to imparting knowledge, without attempting to cultivate wisdom, must needs fall short of the highest aim of a good education. Admittedly it is much more difficult to teach wisdom than to impart knowledge. 'Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers.' Nazi education at its worst cultivates a contempt for both knowledge and wisdom. It glorifies deliberate falsehoods and criminal follies. It is the supreme example of the worst kind of education. But it would be unwise to regard it as a freak creation from nothing. The ground for it has been prepared partly in the widely praised system of German education of pre-Nazi days. That system of education was not essentially different from any of the systems to be found in democratic countries. The moral is obvious. The re-education of Germany will certainly be one of the most urgent problems of the post-war world. The realization of the stupendous nature of that task may be mitigated by the thought that in attempting it, mankind may come nearer to the solution of the greatest of all human problems—how to teach people the wisdom of life, so that men may co-operate for the good of all.

If the re-education of Germany is to have any prospect of success, then steps will have to be taken to stop every form of agitation and plotting in preparation for another war of revenge, and another bid for world conquest. The Germans are past-masters in the arts of conspiracy. It may be taken for granted that they will resort to every device to mitigate the conditions that will be imposed on them by the victorious Allied Nations. In face of

all the barbarities perpetrated by them, they will make no bones about making tearful appeals to the Christian charity of the avengers of outraged humanity. This is not the place to consider what military, political, or economic steps should be taken to put an end to German militarism; but attention may be directed to the fact that the Nazis had complete plans for the prevention of the re-armament and revolt of conquered peoples, and that these plans have been publicly taught as part and parcel of the higher education of the 'Master-folk'. These plans have been outlined in the preceding pages, and deserve some attention. Germany badly needs a dose of her own medicine, even if the Allies may not stoop to the level of the German witch-doctors. Anyway, it will have to be borne in mind that any kind of German society or club may be used again, as it has been used in the past, as a centre of secret militarist conspiracy. Even an 'academic choral society', as has been shown above, may combine the arts of conspiracy and assassination with that of singing sentimental ditties. Let no crocodile tears of hired weepers, not even the genuine tears of some good Germans, induce the Allied Nations to relax their firm discipline. Let Germans shed tears, but don't let them shed more blood.

Mankind cannot afford the risk of giving Germany, or any other fascist country, another chance to wreck civilization. The United Nations, accordingly, are determined to take preventive measures. A sufficiently long period of restraint from evil may provide an opportunity for the development of social and political virtues. Restraining influences are, however, mainly negative in character. Of positive influences, the setting of a good example is the most important. It is more important

even than the formal teaching of sound precepts. Will the democratic countries rise to the occasion? There is the rub! Admittedly the leading democracies among the United Nations have shown more justice and mercy than have the enemy countries—'the little more, and how much it is!' But it would be a grave blunder to ignore the fact that even the most democratic countries still harbour many fascists and other 'carriers' of social and nationalist disease; and that their 'representative' governments, notwithstanding all their charters and promises for the future, have hitherto followed the way of the priest and the Levite rather than the example of the good Samaritan. The United Nations will have to educate themselves as well as the enemy nations; and the two tasks will either succeed together or fail together. An unparalleled call for the most persevering exercise of hope, faith, and charity! But what decent man will doubt that the great cause is worth a supreme effort? Civilization is at stake. The soul of civilization is morality. They are both at the cross-roads. Either morality becomes an international force, a real world-power, backed by adequate sanctions, or civilization will come to grief.

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